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ABSTRACT

The Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project is an interdisciplinary curriculum development project designed to integrate the study of Ibero-American heritage and culture into classroom instructional programs, kindergarten through grade 12. The project was initiated by the New York State Education Department and involves the Spanish National Commission for the Quincentenary of the Discovery of America, the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, seven countries, seven states, and Puerto Rico. This proceedings presents papers linking scholarly research to previously identified curriculum themes. Papers and authors are: (1) "The Ibero-American Experience (The Colonial Period: XV-XVIII Centuries)," J. J. Klor de Alva; (2) "The Sephardic Influence and Contributions," J. Z. Appelbaum; (3) "Latin America: The Nineteenth Century," G. H. Gossen; (4) "Portugal," A. Novoa; (5) "The Chilean in California," N. Duchens; (6) "Cuban Americans: History and Process," M. A. Bretos; (7) "Cuban Contributions to America: Past and Present," F. de Varona; (8) "On the Economic Status of Latinos: Opportunities and Challenges for Today and Tomorrow," R. I. Rochin; (9) "Challenges and Opportunities: Four Sides of the Same Coin," S. Nieto; (10) "Commonalities and Diversity in the Latino Experience: A Conceptual Framework for Exploring Latino Challenges and Opportunities," C. E. Cortes; (11) "Influences of the New World in the Historical Development of the Iberian Peninsula in the Modern Age," L. Lopez-Ocon Cabrera; (12) "The Hispanics in the United States," J. M. Muria; (13) "The Latin Communities in the United States," L. F. Estrada; (14) "Puerto Rico in the Ibero-American Heritage Project," J. E. Hernandez-Cruz; and (15) "Interdependence between the United States and Latin America," M. E. Bozzoli de Wille. (SV)

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The Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project

Latinos in the Making of the United States of America: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

QUINTO CENTENARIO

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS 500 QUINCENTENARY JUBILEE

The Second Annual Meeting of the International Advisory Panel at Santillana del Mar, Spain

October 6-9, 1988

Conference Proceedings

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The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department

The Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project

Latinos in the Making of the United States of America: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

The Second Annual Meeting of the
International Advisory Panel at Santillana del Mar, Spain

October 6-9, 1988

Conference Proceedings

Reprinted 1990

The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department

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Acknowledgments

We wish to extend special thanks to the members of the International Advisory Panel and the distinguished authors of the papers that follow for their efforts to forward the goals of the Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project.

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Introduction

The papers and associated materials in this book represent the Conference Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the International Advisory Panel of the **Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project: Latinos in the Making of the United States of America, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow.** The meeting was held in Santillana del Mar, Spain, on October 6-9, 1988.

The Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project is an interdisciplinary curriculum development project designed to integrate the study of Ibero-American heritage and culture into classroom instructional programs, kindergarten through grade 12. The Project was intitiated by the New York State Education Department in 1986, and involves the Spanish National Commission for the Quincentenary of the Discovery of America, the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, seven countries, seven states, and Puerto Rico.

During the first year of the Project, meetings were held with members of Spain's Quincentenary Commission and members of the Council of Universities to discuss the goal of incorporating the Spanish/Hispanic role in the development of the United States from the time of the discovery of the New World to the present more fully into educational programs. The New York State Education Department drafted *On the Record*, the proposal for the Project. The Spanish National Commission for the Discovery of America endorsed the idea, and the Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project became the official Project of the Commission. The Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission has also endorsed it.

In the summer of 1987, the New York State Education Department named scholars from six countries to serve on an International Advisory Panel, in order to guide the development of the Project. Additionaly, New York State Commissioner of Education Thomas Sobol asked the Commissioners of Education in six other states—Arizona, California, Florida, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Texas—and Puerto Rico to participate in the Project. All agreed to cooperate.

In October 1987, the New York State Education Department, in cooperation with the Council of Universities in Spain, the Spanish Quincentenary Commission, six countries (Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Chile, Costa Rica, and Brazil), the six states, and Puerto Rico, held an International Planning Conference at Sterling Forest Conference Center in Tuxedo, New York, to initiate the Project.

The goals of the three-day session, which was attended by the International Advisory Panel, curriculum specialists, education administrators from six cooperating states and Puerto Rico, and other distinguished persons, were to define the overall framework for the curriculum and to identify the needs for further research. The collective efforts of the group produced a solid foundation for the Project. During the Planning Conference, The Honorable Mario M. Cuomo, Governor of the State of New York, endorsed the Project.

Between October 1987 and October 1988, the curriculum themes were revised with the advice and comments of all the people involved in the Project. Scholars were identified to prepare a second set of papers linking the scholarly research to the curriculum themes and present them at the second annual meeting of the International Advisory Panel, which was held October 6-9, 1988. The meeting was hosted by the Santillana Foundation at Santillana del Mar, Spain.

Sponsors of the curriculum project include the New York State Legislature, the Santillana Foundation, the Spanish Quincentenary Commission, and the United States-Spanish Joint Commission for Educational and Cultural Cooperation.

Conference Program

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6

11:30 a.m. **Reception and documentation**

12:00 m. **Opening Session**

Moderator:
María Ramírez
State Education Department
Albany, New York

Welcome by conference co-sponsors

Greetings:
Matilda R. Cuomo
First Lady of New York State
Representing Governor Cuomo on the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission

2:00 p.m. **Lunch**

Luncheon Speaker:
Robert J. Maurer
President
American Corporation for Education and Training
Albany, Boston, New York City

4:30 p.m. **Session I - Education Department Perspectives**

Moderator:
María Ramírez

Recorders:
Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera
Virginia Sánchez Korrol

Presentors:

New York
Carol Anne Stiglmeier
Program Manager
Division for Program Development

Puerto Rico
Awilda Aponte Roqué
Secretary of Education

New Mexico
Alan Morgan
Superintendent of Public Instruction

5:45 p.m. **Break**

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6:15 p.m. **Session I - Continued**

Texas

Victoria Bergin
Executive Deputy Commissioner of Education

California

Fred Dobb
Consultant, Foreign Language Unit

Florida

Michael Tremor
Director, Academic Program Consulting

New Jersey

Paul Cohen
Education Program Specialist

9:00 p.m. **Dinner**

10:30 p.m. **Social Mixer**

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7

8:30 a.m. **Breakfast**

9:45 a.m. **Session II - Presentation and Discussion of Papers**

Moderator:
Félix Haering Pérez

Recorders:
Gabriela Ossenbach
Virginia Sánchez Korrol

The Colonial Period

Presentor:
J. Jorge Klor de Alva

11:00 a.m. **Break**

11:45 a.m. **Session II - Continued**

The Nineteenth Century

Presentors:
J. Jorge Klor de Alva
Gary H. Gossen

2:00 p.m. **Lunch**

4:30 p.m. **Session III - Presentation and Discussion of Papers**

Moderator:
Félix Haering Pérez

Recorders:
Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera
Virginia Sánchez Korrol

Political and Legal Profile
Presentor:
Frank de Varona

5:45 p.m. **Break**

6:15 p.m. **Session III - Continued**

Economic Profile
Presentors:
Helen Nader
Refugio I. Rochin

Cultural Identity
Presentors:
Alfonso Ortiz
Marta Vega

9:00 p.m. **Dinner**

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8

8:30 a.m. **Breakfast**

10:00 a.m. **Session IV - Presentation and Discussion of Papers**

Moderator:
Victoria Bergin

Recorders:
Gabriela Ossenbach
Carol Anne Stiglmeier

Challenges and Opportunities: Two Perspectives
Presentors:
Virginia Sánchez Korrol for Sonia Nieto
Carlos Cortés

11:15 a.m. **Break**

11:45 a.m. **Session IV - Continued**

Demographics
Presentors:
Virginia Sánchez Korrol
Leobardo F. Estrada

The Iberian Peninsula
Presentor:
Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera

2:00 p.m. **Lunch**

4:30 p.m. **Session V - Presentation and Discussion of Papers**

Moderator:
Victoria Bergin

Recorders:
Leoncio López-Ocón Cabrera
Virginia Sánchez Korrol

Latin America
Presentor:
José Maria Muriá

Brazil
Presentor:
Yara Vieira

5:45 p.m. **Break**

6:15 p.m. **Session V - Continued**

Puerto Rico
Presentor:
Juan Hernández-Cruz

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9

8:30 a.m. **Breakfast**

10:00 a.m. **Session VI - Wrap Up and Next Steps**

Moderator:
Robert J. Maurer

Recorders:
Gabriela Ossenbach
Carol Anne Stiglmeier

2:00 p.m. **Lunch**

Remarks

by Matilda R. Cuomo

First Lady of New York State

Buenas tardes a todos y gracias por darme el honor de saludarles y darles la bienvenida.

I am honored to attend the Second Annual Meeting of the International Advisory Panel of the "Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project."

We are deeply grateful to our generous supporters:

- the Spanish Quincentenary Commission,
- the Santillana Foundation,
- the Council of Universities, and
- the United States/Spanish Joint Committee for Cultural and Educational Cooperation.

We come to this beautiful and proud nation from seven countries, from six United States, and from Puerto Rico. This is truly a multinational, multistate partnership.

We come with an ambitious but worthy mission: to continue the planning and development of the Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum entitled "Latinos in the Making of the United States of America: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow."

This committee has undertaken an unprecedented curriculum development process. Your journey began one year ago, with the first planning meeting of the International Advisory Panel at Sterling Forest, New York. It continued throughout the past year with the development and refinement of scholarly papers.

Today, you convene here in this lovely setting at Santillana Del Mar to review the progress and to move forward. Over the next four years, your work will involve the collaboration and contributions of hundreds of researchers, academics, and practitioners.

The preparation will be monumental, but I am confident that the rewards will be extraordinary. Highlighting the rich and lasting Hispanic contributions to the history and culture of the United States will benefit all students in the United States.

It is vital that children, early in their education, begin to develop the foundation for a lifelong appreciation and respect for the Ibero-American heritage. This early education can help further traditional family and community values. It can help diminish stereotypes that are harmful to Spanish-speaking Americans. And it can help build bridges of understanding not only within the United States but throughout the world.

You will be helping to accomplish all of this and more, through the Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum. This contribution has been badly needed for some time.

In fact, in 1911, the eminent historian Edward Bolten said that "one of the greatest needs in the field of American history is the publication of a comprehensive body of historical materials relating to Spanish activities within the United States."

Bolten sounded this theme often when he became the president of the American Historical Society in 1932.

Today, one-half century later, the growing contributions of Hispanics add to the importance of what you are doing.

With nearly 20 million residents with Spanish surnames, we already are the fifth largest Spanish-speaking country—after Mexico, Spain, Argentina, and Colombia. Of New York State's 17.5 million people, more than two million are Spanish-speaking, ranking New York third behind California and Texas.

With this growth has come increasing influence nationally and on the local level. This year, 3,360 Hispanics are serving in elected office, including 626 women. The numbers will continue to grow. These officials include 11 members of Congress, 1 governor, 3 mayors, 120 state legislators, and 1,226 members of local school boards.

Other signs of the vitality of the Latino heritage are evident everywhere—in dozens of Ibero-American newspapers and radio and television stations; in museums and art galleries; in theaters, dance companies, professional sports; and in educational and scientific areas.

New York City has been particularly blessed. Just ten days ago, our "International Film Festival" opened with Spanish filmmaker Pedro Almodovar.

Later this month, thousands will attend our two-week Spanish film festival.

Nationally, Latin American literature is enjoying the highest kind of prestige, as many Latin American authors are being rediscovered.

Leading the long list is Gabriel Garcia Marquez, whose novel *Love in the Time of Cholera* remains on bestseller lists after 24 consecutive weeks!

These examples and *many* more have done much to advance the appreciation of the Ibero-American heritage in the United States. Nevertheless, much remains to be done.

Our schools must be more responsive to the rich and diverse contributions of our people from Puerto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and other Latin American countries.

In spite of the educational standards and opportunities provided to students in the United States, there is an area of great need which this project addresses directly—that is, that too few of our American students are exposed to foreign languages and foreign cultures.

Therefore, it is absolutely essential that our students learn languages other than English, and certainly Spanish is a high priority.

It is also important that our schools respect the languages spoken by children who come to us from all parts of the world—children who are learning English as a *second* language, *temporarily*, with the determination to develop English, finally, as their *first* language, with full proficiency and functional literacy.

That is the philosophy of New York State, and we back up that philosophy by providing $19 million to support bilingual education.

As a matter of fact, no student in New York State is denied a high school diploma solely on the basis of language. Our State testing program for graduation is available in 29 languages.

Our children must learn more about themselves, about the world, and about the cultures and languages that flourish throughout the world.

They must learn their responsibility to participate and compete in a caring and sensitive way. They must learn that it is not just the United States that suffers when there is insufficient awareness and sensitivity. The arms race, the endangered environment, and the debt crisis demonstrate vividly how our global friends pay a heavy price, as well.

Although this century will be remembered in history for its miraculous scientific and technological progress, in *human* relations we have not progressed nearly as well.

To build new bridges, to attain new understanding, to achieve greater prosperity and *shared* prosperity, we need to understand and respect each other's histories and cultures—and to speak one another's languages.

We need to remember Miguel de Unamuno's warning that "isolation is the worst possible counselor" and Garcia Marquez' warning, in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, that the consequences of living myopically, conscious only of one's own existence and oblivious to the surrounding world, can be fatal.

Our children need to learn, in their earliest years, that other people are different, but beautiful in their uniqueness. Our children need to find out early that they can learn much about themselves through discovering others. They must learn to appreciate and respect each other when young, so they can learn to love each other when older.

So the need for the work of this committee is evident. The United States must recognize the great importance Ibero-Americans have had and will have in shaping the nation—and that recognition grows from Columbus' first encounter with what to him was a "new world."

It is a tribute to the stature of this International Advisory Panel, and to the significance of your undertaking, that this project has been endorsed by the United States Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, as well as the Spanish Quincentenary Commission.

I also am pleased to tell you that my husband, the Governor, is hoping to establish with the governments of Spanish-speaking countries broad partnerships in trade, culture, tourism, and education. We will call the partnership program *"Dos Casas—Muchas Tradiciones,"* "Two Houses, Many Traditions." The *Dos Casas* refers to the linkage with each of our partners. The *Muchas Tradiciones* refers to the understanding that our Hispanic community is indeed many communities bound by the Spanish and indigenous languages, each with a unique culture and history.

As many of you know, my husband and I are of Italian descent. "Dos Casas—Muchas Tradiciones" grows out of a similar partnership that New York State began with Italy more than one year ago. We call that program *"Due Case, Una Tradizione"*—"Two Houses, One Tradition."

All of these exchanges will take place under the umbrella of the New York State Partnership Program, which is being coordinated by Vincent Tese, New York State's Commissioner of Economic Development.

One way that "Dos Casas" can do much to support and augment the work of this Ibero-American Heritage Project is by promoting Spanish language teaching and studies in the United States. To fully appreciate a culture, children need "to live it, breathe it in, soak it up." They especially need to communicate with that culture through the language of the people.

We are entirely committed in New York State to teaching languages other than English—and Spanish is absolutely essential.

For nearly 500 years, the Ibero-American influence in the United States has been profound, although it has remained in the shadows and has received little or no attention in our schools.

The children who entered first grade this past September will graduate in the year 2000. They need to be prepared to communicate and cooperate in a hemisphere where the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking population may outnumber English-speaking persons by nearly two to one.

The materials you are developing can go a long way toward making a difference.

By connecting our young people so vividly with the past, this Ibero-American Heritage Project will help assure that 1992 becomes, in the words of the United States Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, "both the culmination of an epoch of achievement and the beginning of a new and more promising age."

Just as Christopher Columbus had a vision, a dream, so too do our children today. Our obligation is to make sure that the dream remains alive, to make sure that it does not vanish, for Latino children, and for all children.

At this conference, may your enthusiasm, your motivation, and your beautiful spirit help broaden the channels of communication and deepen the levels of understanding for all of us.

Como hizo Don Quijote / tenemos que luchar contra los molinos de viento o los gigantes, pero todos unidos en una sola voluntad— venceremos.

Gracias y buena suerte en su empresa.

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Remarks

by Robert J. Maurer

President, American Corporation for Education and Training

Welcome, friends and colleagues. We have begun our second conference in this effort to create an understanding of the Latino root in the development and history of the United States. Thank you for taking time from your professional duties to engage again in this important project.

Our efforts of last year have produced many accomplishments:

- A revised themes paper,
- A $150,000 New York State Legislature appropriation for our project,
- A permanent staff,
- An exchange of curriculum specialists between Spain and New York,
- Official Spanish and United States Quincentenary Commission sponsorship,
- A growing list of international sponsors.

It has been through your support and your assistance that these achievements have been made possible. Together we need to acknowledge the hospitality of the Santillana Foundation and its president, Jesús Polanco, for their support and this wonderful repast.

But now it is time to begin our work. We all owe an enormous debt to my colleague María Ramírez for carrying the organization of the project forward, both during my tenure in the State Education Department in Albany and following completion of my assignment in August. With the support of the Board of Regents and Commissioner Thomas Sobol, María has brought energy and management to our enterprise. I thank her, publicly, for keeping a personal dream and a purpose alive. But we all need to thank her for her effort.

I met Ricardo Diez almost three years ago in an effort to gain his advice, his experience, and Santillana's support. "Don" Ricardo immediately understood our purpose and its importance. He willingly assisted us in the formulations of the project, the support for our first conference, and now as our gracious and generous host here in Spain.

The Spanish and American Quincentenary Commissions, through John Williams, Adelina Lorenzo, and Luis Yáñez, have generously shared their guidance and their Commissions' support.

I thank Mrs. Cuomo for her willingness to attend this important conference personally. Her presence signifies the potential magnitude of our endeavors.

Emilio Lamo de Espinosa shared his advice and the sponsorship of the Council of Universities of Spain. We thank him and his successors, General Secretary Elisa Pérez Vera and Félix Haering Pérez, for their energetic sponsorship.

I also extend our project's thanks to Tom Middleton of the United States-Spanish Joint Committee for Cultural and Educational Cooperation for his guidance, understanding, and support.

It is, however, to the spirit of a Spaniard I never met—a person who assisted modern Spain in the early twentieth century to rejuvenate its intellectual, academic, and scientific efforts with the nations of the world—that I owe the origination of what we are about this week.

Through his family and descendants, the work and spirit of José Castilljeo brought to my mind the need to form an international effort to better and more deeply understand the Latino or Hispanic root to the history of the United States.

It was in Granada, at Alhambra, whose beauty and mystic qualities have beguiled so many other Americans before my time, that Castilljeo's son, David, and later his family, brought the multiculturalism of Spain more fully to my perception. The multiethnic and religious derivations of the United States and Latin America are well known. Until recently, these derivations were unexplored or unexposed in our school curricula. That Spain's multicultural roots were so well acknowledged in contemporary academic thought was the basis for this project. We first sought to understand the United States and its history from 1492, from Alhambra. This great palace, used by Islamic and Christian rulers, symbolized Spanish cultural roots—Christian, Islamic, and Jewish.

For those new to our deliberations this week, I must

tell you that those who met last year at the Sterling Forest Conference Center in Tuxedo, New York, would be hard put to duplicate as challenging a dialogue or accomplish as important a change in the underlying intellectual assumptions and academic construct of the project.

Instead of a historical perspective to our project, we chose, at Sterling Forest, a sociological one. Instead of a single Spanish or Ibero root, we chose a multiethnic, American one. Instead of three religions and three races, we chose to emphasize African, Indian, European, Jewish, and Arabic contributions and Native Americana as well as Judeo-Christian religious influences.

We saw, at Sterling Forest, a reason to tell the Latino story in the making of the United States from the perspective of four continents—Europe, Africa, North America, and South America.

We also identified a contemporary phenomenon of the United States experience, a United States population group interdependent with the nations of their birth—socially, culturally, and economically.

At Sterling Forest, we began to crush myths of history: An Anglo-Saxon United States. A Spanish Hispanic. A Latin South American. We have begun to apply the disciplines of logic, philosophy, and science to our efforts. We have begun to construct a contemporary view of the history of the United States. We use 1992 as a target date to produce this view. We begin in the cataclysmic year of 1492—a year of expulsion, defeat, and withdrawal and a year of encounter.

At this conference, we need to thank our cooperating scholars, who have contributed important views and supporting research to the themes we identified last year.

During the next few days, we need, as a group, to react to these papers. What new questions or directions do they suggest? How might their information and knowledge be made manifest in our resource guides? What new subjects or issues do they set before us for next year?

We also require consideration and re-endorsement of our themes—their continued validity, of course, but also their aid to us in building a curriculum guide. We need to be guided by the Education Department representatives in their view of what works and how to deliver the knowledge we have assembled. We require review of the treatment offered the portrayal of Africans and Native Americans.

As we engage each other during our discussions here, let us also consider the growing public awareness and reaction to our project:

- the intellectual and academic response, and
- the political and social community view.

Those views we know of, let us share. Those we can anticipate, let us bring forward during our conference. But of all things, let us be frank and open, sharing and honest in our discussions.

Finally, we are required to reaffirm the project agenda for next year:

(1) To prepare and construct the first drafts of the resource guides,

(2) To expand our consultation and receipt of advice to include school officials as well as academic researchers, and

(3) To determine any additional tasks to be completed.

As I conclude and we begin our conference, let us remind ourselves of the importance of what we—on three continents, from many nations, from many disciplines—are about.

For the United States to have a vision of the future, our nation must have a mirror to its past that reflects the reality of events. Our mirror must be one that reflects *past* and *beyond* the distortions of ideology, beyond ethnic and religious and cultural prejudice.

The United States has demographically, socially, and culturally become a different society from the society now reflected in its national image. We are becoming a nation of no ethnic majority. By 2015, the states of Florida, California, Texas, and New York will no longer have European white majorities. They will join Mississippi, Arizona, New Mexico, and Hawaii in that distinction.

Those states with a black, Latino, and Asian-American majority will represent more than 25 percent of the population of the United States. These states will represent almost a third of the members of the United States House of Representatives. These states will represent almost 50 percent of the economic gross national product of the United States.

The nation is also an occupant of a larger continent. While the United States has always reserved the word *American* for its citizens, the reality is that the peoples of the Americas are becoming demographically the leading minority within the nation. These "Americans," non-Europeans, affect our culture, our politics, and our future. We need to understand their place within the United States. We need to understand their contribution to our history and to our future as a nation.

We have the opportunity to define, in 1992, the role of the United States and its peoples' place among the nations of the Americas. We have the opportunity to see our nation as it is and as it will become, before our people awake to what others have called "the painful and destructive shock of finding oneself a stranger, with a stranger's values, in a world that has swiftly changed under one's feet."

On October 12, 1988, the United States, Latin and South America, Spain, and Portugal celebrated the 496th anniversary of the European discovery of the New World.

In Puerto Rico and Mexico, the event was identified as *"El Dia de la Raza"*—the Day of the Race. In Spain, the celebration was hailed as *"El Dia de la Hispanidad"*—the Day of Hispanic Tradition.

For the United States, the day is celebrated as an Italian heritage day, with the vague religious and social connotation that the United States also incorporates into things non-Anglo-Saxon.

Our curriculum project, however, has the promise not to bring "El Dia de la Raza" more broadly to the United States; rather, our efforts can assist us to recognize a broader foundation of the nation, a presence of the United States within a larger geographic context.

Our project can help our people see that we are a nation whose geographic population is more diverse and more dynamic than at any time in 500 years.

The implication, then, of this project is to say that we contributed to the beginning of a new commemoration of October 12, 1492. We can have present a curriculum and school resource guide that would have all the people of all the nations of North and South America understand that they are Americans. In the United States, we would have this commemoration represent, for the next 500 years, *"El Dia del Pueblo"—"El Dia de Todos los Pueblos."* I hope you share these aspirations.

Our project can lead us to resolving differences of culture and language, race and religion, national origin and ideology. We can understand that, as citizens of the United States, we are many peoples—together—Asian, Latino, European, Indian, and African in heritage. In the United States, we can learn: We are one. *Somos Uno.*

The Ibero-American Experience (The Colonial Period: XV-XVIII Centuries)

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The most important event after the creation of the world, excepting the incarnation and the death of its creator, is the discovery of the Indies.

Francisco López de Gómara
Chaplain-secretary of Hernando Cortés

The discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind.

Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776)

. . . the most calamitous event in human history.

Cornelius De Pauw (paraphrase, 1768)

The existence of America was one of the greatest disappointments in the history of Europe.

C.S. Lewis

INTRODUCTION

I assume from the beginning that students, regardless of age or educational level, should be introduced to the Hispanic or Latino subcultures of the United States through an account of how the Americas we know today first arose out of peoples and cultures as radically different as those of the New and Old Worlds. In the colonial centuries, two cultural universes struggled with each other for supremacy, influence, or mere survival; reproduced with each other out of lust and genuine attraction; and ultimately disappeared into the background as the fruit of their desires and the society of their hopes and fears moved to center stage. In our century, two very different peoples are again confronting each other across cultural and social chasms, and once again bridges are being built everywhere that promise, threateningly or hopefully, to bring the protagonists together, to "mix it up," and in so doing to smooth the sharp edges of their distinctions down to curves of previously unsuspected shapes.

The commemoration of the Quincentenary of Columbus' voyage, with the media attention, stormy debates, and glittery pageants that will accompany it, will rivet attention on the birth of the modern world with a cultural force that has never been mustered before on this theme. The obvious thing to do is to take advantage of this moment in order to open skeptical or ignorant minds and lead them to an appreciative understanding of the nature and importance of the Spanish-speaking world, especially of the more than 20 million Latinos in the United States. With one eye on the boost that can be expected from the public interest in the Quincentenary and the other firmly fixed on how the Hispanic-Latino heritage might best be presented to Latino and non-Latino students in the United States, I offer the following suggestions for the colonial period segment of the "Ibero-American Experience" section of the curriculum themes for the Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project.

THE EUROPEAN PROLOGUE TO THE ENCOUNTER

We begin the study of the New and Old Worlds on the eve of their meeting by reflecting on the extreme points of view that serve as epigraphs to this essay. They summarize, in a way that might appeal to students' sense of the bizarre, the nature of the ambivalence that surrounded the process of culture contact initiated by Columbus in 1492 (Elliott, 1970, pp. 1-27).

Although it was ambivalent and painful, the birth of the modern world, when everyone came to recognize everyone else's humanity even if only to trample on it, took place with the European expansion to the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Whether as conquerors or conquered, as perpetrators or victims, confrontation with an alien Other called for a transcendent response. These responses ultimately evolved and coalesced into the various everyday images that dominated thinking about the self and society, thereby helping to transform not only Europe and the Americas but the whole globe into the modern interconnected world we have today. Everywhere cultures met, all parties were forced to reassess their commonly held opinions concerning the nature of humanity and civil society. In doing this, they initiated the modern idea that the Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum

Project takes for granted: that humanity is everywhere different and yet everywhere the same.

Historically, the point of departure is the impact on the New and Old Worlds of the encounters that began in 1492. Because the Europeans initiated the contact and because what they brought with them, especially diseases, contributed disproportionately to the demographic, cultural, economic, and sociopolitical image the Americas came to develop, it is fitting that the impact on the Old World should be the starting point. In the following somewhat detailed essay, I present what I consider to be the key points the curriculum guide should keep in mind. The length of this piece is suggestive of my opinion concerning the importance of this historical time period as the necessary backdrop against which students today might best understand Spain, the United States, Latin America, and themselves as Americans (regardless of ethnic descent).

By the fifteenth century, Europe had shrunk significantly. The Turks were outflanking her in the East, and Tamerlane and the fall of the Mongol empires had previously cut off effective communication and trade with the Orient. Meanwhile, technical advances in navigation and shipbuilding were making possible the attempt to search out a water route to short-circuit both Moslems and Italians by direct trade with the East. With the 1415 capture of Ceuta, lying on the African side across the strait at the mouth of the Mediterranean, the Portuguese inaugurated the age of discovery and conquest. Much to their disappointment, they were to discover in 1497 a whole continent, Africa, between themselves and the riches of the East.

In 1492, two Spains were heading for a collision, which was averted by the discoveries of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. One Spain was aristocratic and had amassed its wealth through looting in warfare, assisted by peasant-warriors in search of free land. The other Spain was town-based and industry- and trade-minded. When the last Moors were defeated in Granada that same fateful year of 1492, the Spanish frontier closed, land became scarce, and ready wealth by plunder ceased shortly thereafter. The entrepreneurs stepped in with a solution: capital investment in industry coupled with limits on aristocratic power—that is, jobs for peasants and a reduction in expenditures on luxury items. The obvious conflict that would have arisen between the opposing demands of the protagonists was tempered, however, by tales of recent discoveries concerning abundant, limitless resources of free or cheap labor and gold beyond the dreams of kings.

Aside from economics, technology, and trade, other factors were at work driving men to venture forth on little sailboats into infinite expanses of water. These were evidenced in writers as medieval as Augustine and Dante and as Renaissance as Petrarch and Marsilio Ficino, who believed "God is everywhere. . . . Man desires to be everywhere. . . . And so he strives to be as God everywhere" (Trinkaus, 1976:I, p. 8). Curiosity, restlessness, and a heretofore unfelt existential openness are betrayed in the recorded acts and the literature of the age of European expansion.

But the achievements and needs were not pointing all peoples due west, physically or intellectually. Italy, for the most part, was too concerned with Mediterranean and overland oriental trade to take much interest in the New World. France, on the other hand, was too interested in Italy to undertake risky ventures by sea. England, like Germany, was overwhelmed by domestic and European affairs. And lastly, when the Central and Eastern European communities looked beyond their own frontiers, it was to peer eastward to the middle and central Asian regions, only then beginning to expand agriculturally. It would take more than a century, after the Spanish and Portuguese efforts had run their course, for England and France to take serious note of America.

THE IMPACT OF THE NEW WORLD ON THE OLD

Here the narrative must shift to the explorations and conquests that followed Columbus' 1492 voyage. Because details of these are already surveyed in the textbooks, I turn my attention instead to the less considered but equally important issues that contributed to the configuring of the Americas.

The transcendent effect of the discovery on European politics was, no doubt, the transformation and shift in the centers of power from Italy and Germany to the Iberian Peninsula, and from there, in the following centuries, to England, France, and the Low Countries.

The resulting demographic shifts caused by the lure and promise of wealth, food, fuel, and freedom from religious restrictions that America represented involved relatively negligible percentages of national populations in any one year. But cumulatively these shifts had the effect of removing young adults in their years of greatest vigor from a Europe ravaged by war. Seventeenth-century southern and western Castile were two among many places that felt the drain in population. In contrast to Machiavelli, "who thought colonies both useful as an outlet for superfluous population and an aid to the prosperity of the home state," the French philosopher Montesquieu argued:

> The usual effect of colonization is to weaken the mother country without populating the new land. Men must remain where they are: there are diseases that come when good air is exchanged for foul . . . (Borah, 1976:II, p. 715).

By the end of the seventeenth century, more than three million immigrants, of whom 1.5 million were blacks,

had entered the Americas. When these people confronted native populations in the tens of millions, the racial mixture resulted in a social hierarchization, the net result of which suggests that "racial discrimination based simply on skin color appears to have developed principally in America" (Borah, 1976:II, p. 718). And racial discrimination—along with tobacco and syphilis—is one of America's saddest gifts to the world.

Before turning to some complex, but translatable, ideological considerations, some discussion of the New World's effects on European trade and economics should come first. This section permits the teacher to introduce the students (and him- or herself) to thinking about the economic impact of events that are ordinarily treated solely as historical facts with effects only vaguely related to the transformation of everyday life.

Two American exports profoundly changed the economic circumstances of the Old World: precious metals and new agricultural staples.

Spain's massive importation of silver—rather than, as generally believed, gold—into the Continent's economy made this metal the new monetary standard in most nations of Western Europe. So great was the quantity of imported silver and gold that an unprecedented rise in commodity prices ensued. In Spain, prices rose in the sixteenth century from three and one-half to five times; France and England later experienced an only slightly smaller level of inflation. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the flood of precious metals subsided, but enough money was available to keep up with the increase in the production of goods (which had resulted from the increased monetized [currency-based] economy). Since wages lagged behind rising prices in France and England, though not in Spain, profits increased the incomes of entrepreneurs, thereby stimulating capital formation (the amassing of wealth). More capital became available for the purchase and use of expensive technological innovations and for agriculture, mining, housing, highways, canals, and, of course, colonization. In the meantime, the number of employed laborers drawing wages increased, with the inevitable result that feudalism and the guild system atrophied dramatically.

The increased money economy led to a shift from subsistence and market agricultural production to commercial agriculture, with its accompanying specialization and intensive cultivation; the dawn of giant agri-business concerns had come. The net effect, of course, was increased food production. The perennial problem in Europe of lack of food was also substantially alleviated by the introduction of a number of New World crops. The most important were corn (Indian maize), potatoes, beans (including green and lima beans), tomatoes, and various types of chili peppers (like cayenne, paprika, and bell peppers). Not as important as these, but significant for other reasons, was the introduction of chocolate, sweet potatoes, peanuts, squashes of various kinds, cassava, vanilla, sassafras, and numerous nuts such as cashews. Other critical New World products included timber (much needed for housing), furs, botanical medicines, tobacco, and cod from North America. (Cod, in fact, soon became one of the most important sources of protein for Europeans.) Some of these items were to change the economic landscape of a number of regions, as was the case with the introduction of corn into northern Portugal.

Equally important to Old World science were the contributions of the explorations. Navigation techniques were foremost among these. Indeed, after 1492, Europeans—like the Chinese long before—were no longer trapped by a local navigational system that depended on terrestrial landmarks to keep from losing one's way. Meanwhile, Old World medicine did not fare as well; despite the many excellent drugs imported from the New World, European ethnocentrism, skepticism, and general conservatism kept their use from becoming widespread. Only cinchona was widely accepted, and from this product, quinine was made, which delivered humanity from the clutches of malaria and thereby facilitated the European colonization of equatorial Africa and America. On the other hand, European map making and the science of geography were, logically, dramatically transformed by the encounter with the New World. In fact, classical and medieval geographies were the first and most decisive casualties of the voyages, with the Renaissance emphasis on experience over authority being thoroughly vindicated. The French historian Marcel Bataillon summarized the phenomenon best when he pointed out that the Spaniards "roamed over as much territory in the 70 years after 1492 as had been explored in the previous 1000 years by other Europeans."

The explorations and conquests moved the previously peripheral nations of Spain and England into the geographic, political, and economic center stage. The Italians continued to look eastward for a preferred route to the Indies and subsequently missed out on a piece of the American pie. Their efforts at colonization did not occur until World War II. As for the French and Germans, their second thoughts on the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were too little and too late to permit them a foothold beyond a few small Caribbean islands and, for a while, a piece of the northern coast of South America.

It should be noted that as late as 1560 French descriptions of the world could be found that failed to mention America. Like the so-called Copernican "revolution," which took 100 years to be effectively noticed, the Old World perspectives on America did not dissipate from

one day to the next. The discovery of America, after all, could hardly compete with the Reformation, the Turkish threat, the aesthetic renovation of Rome, or the ethnocentrism of the then isolated and peripheral appendage of Asia we know as Europe. The popularity of Amerigo Vespucci's accounts of his expeditions to the New World and his assertion that it was not an island but a land mass all helped to put his name on a map as early as 1507. In spite of the fact that Spaniards avoided the term *America*, it held on with justifiable tenacity.

Now I turn to the cultural and ideological spheres to continue the exploration of the impact on the Old of the encounter with the New World.

In the areas of philosophy, anthropology, and law, the central questions posed by the New World for the Europeans, from Cortés and Bernal Diaz del Castillo to the Emperor himself, could be summarized as follows. First, what is the nature of the indigenous peoples and to what extent is a reanalysis of human nature necessary in light of their variety of institutions, religions, and customs? Second, how were these natives to be assimilated into European culture (i.e., how should Old World social and political culture and Christianity be implanted)? Third, how is the legitimacy of European sovereignty and economic supremacy to be established? It is worth noting that these questions of conscience and public policy were never significantly discussed by any others but the Spaniards who, as Bernal Diaz—the conqueror-historian who fought with Cortés—remarked, "were here to serve God and to get rich"—but not necessarily, of course, in that order.

The Renaissance scholars Marsilio Ficino and Pico de la Mirandolla had already gone a long way toward conciliating pagan and Christian forms. The strange idea that a "savage" could be good without being compelled by law or, indeed, civilization, which these scholars anticipated, culminated in the sixteenth century with the French philosopher Montaigne's belief that there is nothing barbarous or savage about the American natives

> except that we all call barbarous anything that is contrary to our habits. These nations, then, seem barbarous in the sense that they have received very little molding from human intelligence and are still very close to their original simplicity. They are still governed by natural laws and very little corrupted by our own.

Montaigne concludes:

> They are in such a state of purity that it sometimes saddens me to think we did not learn of them earlier, at a time when there were men who were better able to appreciate them than we.

Here, of course, we see one reaction to the view that a Native American is a happy or noble savage and a moral giant compared to the corrupt European.

More important than this opinion, which needless to say was not shared by most Europeans, was the fact that the great variety of peoples and customs found in the New World led to a relativism that contributed to the erosion of the idea that the classical Greek and Roman worlds were the absolute models and that every age is the progressive result of the one that precedes it. Still, this tolerance, this encroachment of relativism, was always limited and usually superficial in contrast to the prevailing humanist and Renaissance commitment to the European as the model of civility. All the charitable ideals surrounding the noble savage theme could not withstand ethnocentrism and lack of religious toleration, with the fear and hostility these engender toward foreigners and all things different.

The specific debate on the nature of the Indians as carried on by the Spanish intellectuals culminated with papal bulls asserting the humanity of the natives and their capacity to appreciate the tenets of Christianity. As for the question concerning the mode by which they would be assimilated into the Old World culture, the Spanish Counter-Reformation response, precipitated by fear of the Protestant heresies, could be no other than that the Indian cultures were to be destroyed and the natives assimilated to the extent they showed a capacity to function within European polity. Only a few voices, such as Bishop Bartolomé de las Casa's, cried out against this resolution.

A discussion of the polemic surrounding the legitimacy of European sovereignty leads us directly to the impact of the discoveries on European law. Even before he set foot in Mexico, Cortés was aware (*see the Requerimiento*) that his was an age busy producing a considerable body of serious writings on the rights and wrongs of conquest and colonial empire-building and the proper treatment of conquered and subject peoples. Again, it was mostly the Spaniards, in contrast to other European colonial powers, who found the need to discuss social justice issues. The most important legal innovations that evolved from these discussions centered on international and public law. Leading the way was a Spanish theologian and jurist named Francisco de Vitoria.

Prior to Vitoria, most theoretical work in international law had centered, not surprisingly, on warfare, particularly on the rules of war and the premises underlying a just war. But America presented with commanding realism a series of problems crying out for juridical resolution: how were the natives to be treated, why should their land and labor be seized, and what laws should apply to them? Vitoria's contributions began with his

implicit rejection of Machiavelli's "politics of power." Victory at war was to be considered limited, subject to the justness of the causes leading to war and respect for the common humanity of the vanquished. In place of universal empire or autonomous states, he proposed the notion, which had been anticipated by others, that states form a community of human beings where mutual respect is to be accorded to all and—in contrast to Machiavelli—where all individuals are free to communicate among themselves without being hampered by their leaders. Therefore, he proposed the universal rights of travel, citizenship, trade, and the declaration of the seas and running waters as public areas (Grisel, 1976:I, p. 324). As some scholars have observed, Vitoria thereby opened the way for international law to be secularized at the same time that he was laying the foundations of modern colonialism through his "hasty and biased endorsement of the right to free trade and tutelage." Nonetheless, he did support religious toleration by denying the right to Christianize by force, and he attacked the belief that lack of faith was grounds enough to forfeit sovereignty and dominion over land. That the arguments advanced in Spain by Las Casa, Vitoria, and others were more than mere intellectual exercises is attested to by the fact that the Crown issued the New Laws of 1542 and many other regulations that, however much they were disregarded in the Americas, established the Crown as a moderating force against the more extreme and systematic abuses of the colonists.

In the area of general public law, the discoveries and conquests contributed to upholding Vitoria's position, which opposed the Pope's claims to temporal jurisdiction or to being both spiritual and temporal master over the whole earth, including the realms of nonbelievers. The Pope's spiritual competence extends only to Christians, declared Vitoria, and he has temporal jurisdiction only in so far as it is necessary for the control of religious matters. As for the ruling monarch, in direct contrast to Machiavelli's position, which was probably unknown to Vitoria, he stated that the consent of the people is necessary to legitimize the sovereignty of the king. While these ideas were also motivated by events beyond those precipitated by the encounters between the two worlds, their effect on Vitoria's thought is undeniable. Nor can one deny that the Roman Catholic doctrine of marriage was profoundly influenced by the myriad of knotty problems presented by the native marriage customs. And as for ideas emerging from what became the United States, its one early contribution to Old World law was the idea of the right to counsel, although admittedly this influence was slow in coming, since England did not adopt this innovation until 1836.

Although it took Europe more than a century to focus its cultural lenses enough to make out a coherent image of the Americas, some political concepts and cultural notions imposed themselves on European consciousness and institutions with alarming speed. One belief, the consequences of which were devastating for North American natives, was the idea of America as a land of empty spaces lying fallow. The English philosopher John Locke generalized this belief into a type of justification for appropriating whatever the Europeans considered unused land for "the benefit of mankind":

> God gave the world to men in common; but since he gave it to them for their benefit. . .it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational. . .(Slavin, 1976:I, p. 158).

America as a land innocent of any previous teaching of the gospel represented a laboratory where the assumptions regarding natural law could be tested. No wonder that America became the setting for a series of utopia texts such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), Tommaso Campanella's *Civitas solis* (1623), and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627). Even for Shakespeare, America was a testing ground where the premises of human nature could be tried beyond the confines of revelation. Though modeled after an English peasant, Caliban, in *The Tempest*, is meant to be, after all, an American Indian. Here, in a world free from European conventions but wealthy beyond all dreams, the wildest hopes of a shrunken Europe were nourished. John Rastell, who referred to the New World as "America" as early as 1519, summed it up when he pictured America as "an avenue to riches and glory." And Sir Walter Raleigh was not far behind when he declared his intention to sail to America "to see new worlds for gold, for praise, for glory."

In contrast to Montaigne, Thomas More, and Amerigo Vespucci, who had earlier envisioned America as a good place because it was free from European culture and polity, the English philosophers John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, along with most Spaniards, saw in America not a symbol of freedom but an invitation to exploit and appropriate, and thereby to implant European customs on a new soil. Locke and Hobbes imagined America as not so much a New World but as a larger Europe. After all, when Hobbes referred to America, it was only to point out that there, where a state of nature existed, life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. . .for savage people in many places of America have no government at all." Locke, unlike Hobbes, learned from America that communism, rather than anarchy, was the true state of human beings in nature. This insight would forever plague the English perception of North American

Indians, all of whom would be attacked as ignorant of the virtues of private property and personal wealth.

Unfortunately, in the areas of art and literature, America's impact was thoroughly blunted as native aesthetics failed to influence European artists. Nonetheless, Bernal Diaz compared the native artists in Mexico to Pedro Berruguete and Michelangelo. But Europeans did little more than indiscriminately mix native American motifs. Through their humanist spectacles they distorted native elements: in European New World scenes, Brazilian Indians are found in Mexico, Patagonians (natives of southern Argentina) are located in central New York, Florida Indians wield Brazilian clubs, Natchez Indians in Louisiana use a North Carolina temple, Pocahontas wears a (Brazilian) Tupinamba feather costume, and the Aztecs live in Renaissance castles. The classical images along with the Oriental and African were transferred to the New World, and as a consequence, the average European's image of the New World's natives, landscapes, customs, and languages were but a faint echo of reality—200 years after Columbus set foot on Hispaniola! Nonetheless, one very effective influence on Old World art was the rise of collectionism and the "invention" of museums as a result of the influx of American and Egyptian artifacts into the homes of wealthy Europeans. America, however, soon became a common motif, though greatly distorted, in European literature ranging from Edmund Spencer's *Faerie Queene* to Shakespeare's Brave New World in *The Tempest*—to say nothing of Spanish letters including Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.

Lastly, much could be said in the areas of religion and language. In summary, the discoveries made Christianity a truly catholic faith, that is, if not universal at least disseminated worldwide. To do this, new methods of missionization were developed, theological questions had to be answered (not the least significant of which were the possibility of salvation for innocent pagans, the origin of the natives, and the role of the devil as the originator of idolatry). Furthermore, in that fateful year, 1492, the first grammar of a European language was published, thus making possible the codification and systematic study of native languages by the missionaries. This study resulted in many theoretical and practical contributions to linguistics. In addition, the voyages assisted in the linguistic convergence of peoples in Europe who had been slowly separating as a result of the fragmenting nature of increased usage of Vulgar Latin and the regional vernaculars, of which Columbus's writings are an excellent example. In his writings, one can note the mixture of Portuguese, Spanish, Genoese, Latin, and the new American lexicon. The obvious linguistic consequences, such as the introduction of hundreds of words into European languages, are eclipsed by the one transcendent effect of the encounter with the New World: in the same way that it universalized Christianity, it made of English and Spanish significant political and international languages, in contrast to Italian or German. And as for Portuguese, today it would be only slightly less restricted in the world scene than Italian were it not for America.

So much for the impact on Europe of its explorations, conquests, and colonization of the Americas. Significant as these were—indeed, I would argue, with others, that it precipitated no less a process than the rise of capitalism—the encounter was slow in being felt and even slower in becoming a central concern. As noted, the average European's beliefs, customs, and lifestyle were not dramatically affected by the New World in the first centuries following Columbus's voyages. However, the reverse was the case for the American Indians. The lives of all of them were to be touched, frequently painfully so, and transformed beyond recognition within one century. It is to this theme that I now turn.

THE IMPACT OF THE OLD WORLD ON THE NEW

The historian Thomas H. Greer, the typical spokesperson for the European perception of New World events, asserted that:

> *By an accident of history, the explorations took place at a time when the Europeans held decisive technological advantages over the peoples of the rest of the world. Nothing in the history of world relations has proved more fateful than this far-flung (and unequal) encounter between Europe and the other continents (Greer, 1977, p. 240).*

I propose an alternative interpretation that is more ethnographically precise and less ethnocentric.

(First, I note an important correction. In 1492, both the Chinese and the Moslems were as well-poised technologically as the Europeans to venture out to the Americas. One of the most enigmatic of historical puzzles is why one of them did not initiate the explorations to the New World, especially since the Chinese had already sailed open waters to East Africa).

Rather than an accident of history, an accident of ecology and a totally different perspective on the nature of humanity and warfare were the primary causes for the differential effects the encounters had on the peoples who came in contact, at least in the core regions of the Andes and Mesoamerica.

First of all, Mesoamerica (Mexico and Central America) lacked draft animals, and other than dogs and turkeys, there were few animals fit for domestication. More important than this ecological deficit was the fact that the staple crop, corn (Indian maize), is a botanically more complicated plant to domesticate than wheat or some of the other key Old World cereals. Therefore,

Western civilization with large domesticated animals and wheat, which is practically domestic in its wild state, evolved in Mesopotamia, from the first experiments in domestication of plants to small village life, in a matter of a few generations. However, in Mesoamerica, corn began to be domesticated about 5000 B.C., but small village life was not possible until approximately 1500 B.C. This huge gap in cultural evolution potential between these two regions, due to ecological factors, resulted in the sixteenth-century meeting of Iron Age Europeans and Bronze Age American Indians—who in fact had no bronze but whose social organization in the core city-states, unlike some of the bands in the peripheries, had long surpassed the sociocultural level of the late Stone Age (neolithic).

From the time of the first contacts until today, more than ecology and much more than geography separated Europeans from natives. To most of the peoples of the Americas, the world, the cosmos, and the human race were integrally bound in a religious framework in which the sacred seemed to penetrate everything, making it difficult to draw a border around what was and was not profane. The dichotomy between secular and religious that so preoccupied late medieval and Renaissance thought would have been a totally alien contrast to native intellectuals. The tangled web of religion spread over so many acts and institutions that the Aztec and Inca response to the Spanish intruders necessarily appears bizarre to our secular mind.

With this brief introduction I now turn to the impact of the explorations and conquests on native Americans by focusing, as much as possible, on the indigenous perspective of these unsettling and frequently catastrophic events. In what I have said so far and in the following, I have kept in mind the curriculum manual, Teaching About the Holocaust and Genocide, *wherein the perspectives of both the protagonists and the student-readers were a constant guide. By this I mean that whereas that manual was not written to vindicate the perspective of the perpetrators, neither should it be the case in this guide. We must explain all sides, while being sensitive to the historical, nationalist, and cultural interpretations that have already been made and are daily fostered in the schools and homes and by the media. This is all the more important if our manual is to be used in states dominated by Mexican Americans, who are particularly sensitive to the Spanish conquest and its aftermath. Consequently, before getting into the colonial centuries, as detailed in the "Revised Themes" outline, this long introduction on the impact on both sides is very much in order. Thus, before I go on to outline the key colonial issues that need to be addressed, the conquest of the Aztecs and Incas needs to be understood from a slightly different perspective than the one shared by most historians who, like Greer, believe that "small bodies of armed and determined men were able to overturn impressive civilizations" (Greer, 1977, p. 246).*

Some initial statistics are in order: The Spanish forces that marched into Mexico-Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, numbered more than 600 men, equipped with 16 horses and 14 artillery pieces. According to the mestizo (mixed Indian-Spanish) historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, these forces were complemented by more than 200,000 Texcocan soldiers, to whom must be added the many thousands of Tlaxcalan allies who joined the Spanish forces against the Aztecs, their ancient enemies. Ixtlilxochitl estimates that almost 300,000 soldiers defended the Aztec city-state, 240,000 of whom were to die during the 80-day siege of the city from the violence and the diseases brought by the Spaniards. Even allowing for this obvious self-serving exaggeration on the part of the Texcocan historian, it is clear that Cortés's forces outnumbered the forces in and around Tenochtitlan.

Perhaps even more important than the military causes of the fall of the Aztecs, which included the Spaniards' superior armament (made of iron and using gunpowder) and tactics geared to annihilation rather than the taking of captives, the biological causes must be underlined. Smallpox, introduced by a soldier who accompanied Cortés, claimed thousands of victims at the height of the war. Indeed, Cuitlahuac, the emperor who succeeded Motecuhzoma, himself killed during the siege of the city, reigned only about 80 days before he succumbed to the newly arrived disease.

The role that native religion played in this debacle cannot be underestimated. The belief that the foreigners were or represented the great god Quetzalcoatl made a European-style defense practically impossible, as ambivalence, heresy, blasphemy, and conquest fused into one enigmatic whole for the native faithful. Other religious factors were also important. The Aztecs had a world view structured around a cosmogony (a theory of the origin and nature of the universe) having a cyclical view of time in which previous ages had succeeded each other after their respective catastrophic conclusions. This succession led to the present age—the *Quinto Sol* (Fifth Sun)—whose inevitable end they attempted to avert through propitiatory rites held every 52 years (when the Aztec "centuries" ended). Inevitable destruction, doomsday imaginings, and a strong belief in and reliance upon omens and portents made of their lives a very meaningful, semantically rich world, but a precarious one in the face of European foreigners. When the Aztecs realized that their religious defenses were ineffective against the magically protected Spaniards and their numerous allies, and when they saw themselves ravaged by disease, their will to resist must have weakened considerably. The fact that Cortés landed in 1519, in the native year One Reed,

Ce Acatl—precisely the year when it had been prophesied that the defeated Quetzalcoatl, the mythical ruler-turned-deity, would return to reclaim his momentarily lost sovereignty—was good reason to believe in the Spanish mission as a supernatural event.

The religious nature and techniques of warfare were also a factor. Despite the fact that the economic and political hegemony the Aztecs enjoyed was the product of conquest and oppression of neighboring city-states, warfare was nonetheless a seasonal affair. Wars were usually fought after the harvest, beginning in November or early December, in order that the maize be properly tended to and not destroyed. However, Cortés reached the Gulf Coast of Mexico in late April and entered Tenochtitlan on November 8, 1519. Therefore:

> The entire march inland was made during a point of reduced or nonexistent military activity, because the natives were primarily concerned with their planting and harvesting (Dibble, 1978, p. 25).

Lastly, as a religious act, war was always preceded by certain rituals, which included not only warning the enemy of an impending attack but also at least ceremonially arming the enemy, if necessary! After all, even more so than with the Spaniards, war and victory were considered to be manifestations of divine rather than human will. As mentioned earlier, the overt object of war was to capture victims to be sacrificed during the ceremonies marked by the ritual calendar, not the annihilation of opposing armies. None of these customs contributed to the practical defense of Tenochtitlan against European invaders. It should be evident that disease, the indigenous world view, and native social organization, more than the comparative number of men, determined the outcome of the violent encounter between Europeans and Indians on the mainland.

Furthermore, the shifting loyalties in the loose confederations that made up the links between city-states made it easy for Cortés to recruit native allies who smarted under the yoke of oppressive Aztec demands for tribute and subordination. These allies, lacking completely a pan-Indian consciousness that could have resulted in a united defense against the foreign invaders, discovered too late the error of believing that they would maintain sovereignty after the defeat of the Aztecs, and they soon found themselves victims of Spanish domination. No one could have predicted such a dramatic turning of the tables.

With appropriate modifications, this story repeats itself in the Spanish conquest of the so-called Inca empire, where approximately 40,000 allies assisted more than 200 Spaniards. This conquest, however, took 40 years to complete. Among the state-level societies of the Americas, only the Yucatec Maya did not identify the Spaniards with familiar divine entities. Indeed, for them the intruders were merely *dzules*, (foreigners) to be avoided if possible or resisted if necessary. Whereas the Aztecs fell by 1521, the Yucatec Maya were not vanquished until 1546. And the Lacandon Maya of southern Mexico were not conquered until the late twentieth century, when Protestant missionaries and logging concerns brought to an end their semi-isolated existence.

With these bits of conquest data behind us, we can turn our attention to the impact on the natives of the initial encounters and colonization. Here I am going to limit my discussion to the state-level civilizations like those of the Nahuas (the Aztecs and their Nahuatl-speaking neighbors), the Mayas, and the Quechuas (popularly referred to as Incas). Outside of the unintended holocaust resulting from the introduction of deadly diseases for which the natives had no immunities, the most important consequences of European contact were the socioeconomic and cultural transformations visited upon the indigenous communities. In the outline that follows this essay, I will take up the details concerning the political and socioeconomic changes brought on by the colonization processes. Here I survey the field at a more general level.

The Spaniards were rarely successful at Europeanizing the natives they encountered who belonged to the contact-period generation. However, they did manage both to restructure the indigenous society and, to the extent that Christian-Hispanic ideologies made meaningful inroads, to secularize and Hispanicize critical aspects of the native world view. The relations of an Indian to other people and to what the West understands as nature became desacralized enough to erode many of the basic premises about the identity and character of the gods, the structure of the empirical world, and the ritual underpinnings of social intercourse. In short, the native world was shaken to its deepest foundations when the contact-period generation gave way to the one that followed, one raised when Christian teachings and European sociopolitical ideals were having a significant impact on native consciousness and social structure. Even the rituals of the deeply spiritual Franciscan friars, who shouldered the lion's share of the proselytizing efforts, seemed semantically thin when compared to the richly symbolic ceremonies that had accompanied almost every act of precontact life. It comes as no surprise that time and again the Christian priests complained that before the conquests the natives had shown more commitment to religious affairs than after the introduction of Christianity. Indeed, the Nahua, Maya, and Inca resisted Christian beliefs quite successfully, but the effects of the Church's institutions, practices, and ideals on their personal and public lives could neither be avoided nor overcome.

With the sudden loss of status or death of much of the native nobility, especially the political, military, and religious leadership, the cultural traditions, which constituted the links that held together the city-state polities and alliances, collapsed, leaving in place only the local leaders and the customs and beliefs of the peasant communities. The latter were in turn affected by Christian practices and ideology so that new forms by which to understand the Spaniards, based on native preconceptions, arose to replace the initial rejections and hopes that had characterized the first encounters. From a political perspective, what we observe is the remnants of the nobility demoted to the level of local administrators serving as intermediaries between colonial demands and local responses. Socioeconomically speaking, the majority of the Indians throughout the Americas, particularly where chiefdom and state-level forms of organization had existed, were initially massed together in *encomiendas*, grants of native labor made to soldiers and others as recompense for significant service to the Crown. These labor units, usually drawn from specified towns or hamlets, were responsible for the production of foodstuffs, the payment of tribute, the feeding of the Spaniards in the cities, mining duties, personal service for the *encomenderos*, and service on public works. The *encomenderos* who held the grants were formally, if not always in practice, responsible for seeing to the Christianization and what they called the "civilization" of their charges. This system of forced labor was notoriously exploitative and oppressive, and it led, particularly in England, to the creation of the Black Legend (Maltby, 1971): the English view of Spanish colonization as an inhuman series of wanton acts of destruction, torture, and murder.

This anti-Spanish propaganda, which has contributed until the present to the formation of attitudes toward Hispanics by English-speaking people, was (and continues to be) countered by the pro-Spanish White Legend, which represents the conquests and colonization as ultimately fortunate events that made possible the introduction of Christianity (i.e., salvation) and "civilization" (European customs, institutions, practices, and beliefs). Both legends have much that is stridently incorrect or exaggerated, since the conquests and colonization led to a reality that cannot be described in black or white terms. Yet today it is understandably the Black Legend that has dominated the thinking about these events common among nationalist Latinos, pro-Indian natives, and Latino indigenists who focus on the violence, death, and destruction the Spaniards wrought. Meanwhile, pro-Spanish intellectuals and others who see the Americas as fundamentally European communities tend to highlight the cultural achievements of the Spaniards while minimizing their abuses. Needless to say, the English devastation of native life in North America suggests the Black Legend was meant to incite anti-Spanish sentiment, rather than serve as a reminder of what not to do.

The introduction of wheat, sheep, and cattle significantly affected native production to the point of causing widespread famines and the pricing of corn beyond the means of the depressed peasants. This weakening of the rural communities created additional space for Spanish inroads into the hinterland. However, nothing contributed more to the Hispanization of the local communities than the demographic collapse of the Indians through epidemics of smallpox, measles, and whooping cough, along with the resulting famines and systematic practices of overwork accompanied by undernourishment. For instance, in less than a century after the initial conquests, the population of central Mexico plummeted—from a number ranging from 11,000,000 to 25,000,000 down to just over 1,000,000. This decline, coupled with the approximately 300,000 Spaniards who immigrated during the same time span and an almost equal number of blacks, led to the formation of Hispanicized mestizo (Spanish-Indian) and a variety of mixed castes (Spanish-Indian-black) that eventually came to constitute the majority of the population. In the core areas of the Americas, this massive leveling of native populations helped to push the indigenous cultural presence to the background of social, political, and cultural life. The extinction of dozens, if not hundreds, of Indian languages—and the accompanying displacements and suffering implied by this—was one of the many casualties of this demographic decimation. Whole towns were destroyed in order to bury the dead in the rubble, as there were insufficient gravediggers to do the job.

In summary, every aspect of native life was affected by the encounters, some obviously more than others. In politics, law, and economics, the colonial impositions were overwhelmingly new and, beyond the more isolated, local cases, generally contrasted with ancient native forms. And as could be expected, native geography was fundamentally modified. The secularization of formerly sacred mountains, rivers, canyons, and precipices implied a new cognitive and cultural landscape. Natives, politically united under the overarching administration of the Spaniards, exchanged former hostilities and alliances for new ones and created new teritorial boundaries and ethnic mixtures. For example, Tlaxcalans were sent to colonize both Guatemala and the far north of Mexico, and some Indians were sent to or immigrated to Peru and Spain. Indeed, some members of the family of Motecuhzoma and the Inca historian Garcilaso de la Vega made a new life in Europe.

New arts and crafts, as well as agricultural techniques such as plowing, were also introduced—with significant consequences. Meanwhile, many traditional occupations

were driven underground and marginalized, including the work of priests and curers; were fully suppressed, including precontact political, judicial, and military posts; or died out from obsolescence, including manuscript painting, featherworking, jewelry making, and the production and maintenance of the religious paraphernalia of the many traditional cults. Much unemployment and underemployment, rootlessness, and alienation necessarily followed. But as the aesthetic tastes and practices changed, many natives took up European trades that called for new tools and methods; as a result, by the second half of the sixteenth century, most native crafts had been deeply influenced by European practices. In the fine arts, Renaissance concepts such as perspective, shading, and three-dimensionality supplemented the traditional two-dimensional line drawings. And of course, much of the complex world of indigenous symbolism and iconography was soon lost as artists trained in the native styles died out or were Europeanized. On the language front, missionary scholars alphabetized the vernaculars into Latin script, abolishing most of the Indian writing systems. And in the area of medicine, the religious context of most native practices drove the missionaries to end many useful curing rituals and to avoid many ceremonial as well as pragmatic herbs. In contrast, native influence on colonial Spanish culture was circumscribed and less profound. Symbolic of this contrast is the introduction of cattle and sheep into the countryside versus the excessive use of diminutives in Mexican Spanish as a result of Nahuatl's use of the diminutive as an honorific.

I will close this brief survey of the impact of the encounters on the two worlds with a few brief quotations from selected indigenous protagonists whose testimonies on the conquests, the Spaniards, and Christianity have survived. First, in *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (i.e., the book of the prophet Balam) from the Maya area of Yucatan, Mexico, we can read the following prophetic text:

> 11 Ahau is the beginning of the count, because this was the katun when the foreigners arrived. They came from the east when they arrived. Then Christianity also began. . . . It was only because these priests of ours were to come to an end when misery was introduced, when Christianity was introduced by the real Christians. Then with the true God, the true Dios, came the beginning of our misery. It was the beginning of tribute, the beginning of church dues, the beginning of strife with purse snatching, the beginning of strife with blowguns, the beginning of strife by trampling on people, the beginning of robbery with violence, the beginning of forced debts enforced by false testimony, the beginning of individual strife. . . . This was the origin of service to the Spaniards and priests, of service to the local chiefs, of service to the teachers, of service to the public prosecutors by the boys . . . while the poor people were harassed. . . . It was by Antichrist on earth, the kinkajous ["harsh and oppressive Maya chiefs"] of the towns, the foxes of the towns, the bloodsucking insects of the towns, those who drained the poverty of the working people. But it shall still come to pass that tears shall come to the eyes of our Lord God. The justice of our Lord God shall descend upon every part of the world, straight from God upon Ah Kantenal, Ix Pucyola, the avaricious hagglers ["sorcerers or witches"] of the world (Roys, 1967, p. 77-79).

In 1539, the *cacique* or native chief of Texcoco, Don Carlos Ometochtzin, a descendant of two of the most important political and intellectual leaders of ancient Mexico, was burned to death after being tried by the Inquisition. Among the testimonies presented against him was the allegation that he had said the following to his nephew:

> What are the things of God? They are nothing. By chance do we find what we have [in] that [which was] written by our ancestors. Well let me tell you that my father [Netzahualpilli] and my grandfather [Netzahualcoyotl] were great prophets and said many things which occurred and were to take place, and they said nothing of this, and if anything was true in this doctrine which you and others repeat, they would have said it. . . . That Christian doctrine is nothing, nor is there anything perfect in what the friars say. There is no more than this: that which the viceroy, and the bishop, and the friars say is of little importance and is nothing. Rather it is that you and others enrich it and give it authority, and multiply it with many words. . . . Therefore, leave those things alone, they are but vanity. . . . And stop believing it and making the other [Indians] believe what the friars say. Because [the friars] have their duty, but not because what they say is true . . . so forget all about that.

And in another part of the record, Don Carlos is said to have stated:

> Who are these who destroy us and disturb us and live over us, and who we carry on our shoulders, and subject us? . . . We are all equals and adequate, and no one should compare himself to us, because this is our land and our treasure and our possession. . . . They think there is no heart to sense and to know, but we are here and no one will make a mockery of us. . . . Oh, brothers! Let none of those

liars equate himself to us, nor should you allow to be with us nor join us those who obey and follow our enemies (González Obregón, 1910, p. 2, ff.).

This political and religious optimism stands in sharp relief to the response made by the Aztec and other Nahua political and religious leaders to the first missionaries who arrived in 1524 to convert the natives. Here I will use my translation from the original Nahuatl so that a sense of the metaphoric and rhetorical style of the language, evident in this the most pathetic text that has survived from the early conquest period, will come through clearly:

> And now, what, in what manner,
> indeed, what sort of thing will we say,
> which we will raise to your honorable ears?
> Are we, by chance something?
> Indeed, we are merely insignificant common people,
> we are covered with dirt, we are covered with mud,
> we are bruised, we are poor,
> we are afflicted, we are sorrowful.
> Truly, the man, our lord, merely lent it to us,
> by which on the tip of his mat, on the tip of his seat he placed us.
> With one lip, two lips we turn it back,
> so that we return His breath, His word,
> this one of the Possessor of the Near, Possessor of the Surrounding
> [Tloque Nahuague];
> from near His forehead, near His hair we come out.
> Because of this we cast ourselves in the river, in the precipice.
> On account of it we search for it, we win it,
> His anger, His wrath,
> perhaps our hole [grave], perhaps our destruction.
> Have we, by chance, been negligent in doing things?
> Oh, where are we truly to go?
> Indeed, we are common people,
> we are destructible, we are mortal.
> Oh, let us die.
> Oh, let us perish,
> since the gods have died!
> (Sahagún in Klor de Alva, 1980, p. 117-119)

XVI CENTURY: CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT (THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD)

Having detailed in narrative form many of the most important points concerning the initial contact period, I will now outline the critical issues I believe should be addressed in the curriculum guide.

I. The Precontact Period (Here the emphasis must be on outlining the geography and briefly describing the nature of the different levels of social organization in the Americas [e.g., band, tribal, chiefdom, state] and, of course, on the Spanish sociocultural patterns that were to affect their modes of interaction at the moment of contact.)

A. What Was the Old World (especially Europe) Like at the Time of Contact?

1. The economic, social, cultural, and political aspects can be quickly summarized along the lines I have described above. For additional information, see these publications: L.S. Stravianos, *The World Since 1500: A Global History* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975); James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University, 1983. For Iberia, see pp. 1-30). Some of the important issues that come to mind are:

   a. Why was it Europe that expanded out to the New World?

   b. Why was it not the Moslems or, even more likely, the Chinese? Both had the technology and social organization to do so.

   c. Why was it Portugal and, later, Spain?

B. What Was the New World Like at the Time of Contact?

1. Again, see the essay above and complement with surveys such as: Mary Helms, *Middle America: A Culture History of Heartland and Frontier* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975); Frances Berdan, *The Aztecs of Central Mexico* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1982); Geoffrey Conrad and Arthur Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (New York: Cambridge University, 1984); James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University, 1983. For an excellent overview of all Latin America and the Caribbean, see pp. 31-57).

2. Here the critical points center on how the levels of native social organization compared with those of the Europeans and the extent to which similarities and differences affected the ways in which the various sides interacted. I would argue, for instance, that among the Nahuas (Aztecs and their Nahuatl-speaking neighbors in central Mexico) the levels of social and political organization, urbanism, and population density were so comparable to those of the Spaniards that the Europeans experienced the Nahuas more as "European-like" social peers (nobles, peasants, etc.) than as "savages" (the experience on the coast of South America or on the smaller islands of the Caribbean). These contrasts could best be organized around the categories of fully sedentary (imperial and nonimperial peoples), semisedentary, nonsedentary.

II. The Immediate Contact Period (See essay above)

A. Exploration and Conquest of the Caribbean Islands and Central American and South America Coasts.

Beyond what is covered in the essay above, this section should address, as noted in the "Revised Themes," how the different levels of social organization and population density encountered resulted in distinct responses from the Europeans. These included everything from intermarriage in the Andes, Paraguay, and central Mexico to the destruction of the native populations of the islands through slavery, overwork, and diseases. Consequently, the whole sixteenth-century segment must discuss how differences in geography (highland vs. lowland, temperate mountains vs. wet coastlands, etc.), natural resources (e.g., the existence of gold, silver, quicksilver, timber, dyewood, etc.), and modes of social organization (hunting-and-gathering nonsedentaries in the peripheries to nucleated and dispersed cities and villages in the core areas, etc.) influenced how native peoples were transformed by the presence of Europeans. In turn, the socioeconomic status of the Europeans, their motives in going to the Americas, their national and regional cultures, and their numbers (large where there were nucleated Indian cities, slight in the frontiers and peripheries) determined how they responded to the native communities.

1. For the European perspective, see: J.H. Elliot, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (New York: Cambridge University, 1970); Fredi Chiappelli, ed., *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California, 1976). For the indigenous view, see Miguel León-Portilla, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).
2. For an overall view of patterns of initial interaction, see pp. 61-121 of James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University, 1983).

B. For the islands and coastal mainland exploration, the following questions seem relevant:

1. When and why were the Spanish victorious? When and why were they not?
2. What institutions did the Spaniards create and what were their precedents? (e.g., encomienda, *congregación* [nucleation of settlements], slavery)
3. What were the cultural, political, and economic precedents that inspired and delimited the Spanish forms of exploration and settlement?
4. What was the Portuguese vs. Spanish division of America about?
5. Who emigrated and why?
6. What mechanisms of expansion were developed and what were the patterns of conquest and settlement that were established?

III. Colonization and Settlement

A. The Role of Religion

Explore religion as a mechanism for Hispanization and sociopolitical control, that is, as a cultural tool by which to affect native life at the public and personal levels. Along with this is the question of native resistance, active (as in the Andes) or passive (as in central Mexico), to the imposition of Christianity and Hispanization.

B. The Role of the Epidemics

It is impossible to overestimate the part played in the configuration of the Americas by the demographic collapse resulting from diseases introduced by the Europeans. The thrust of this section is the following:

1. Wherever light-to-medium population densities existed at contact and the soil was adequate for the development of sugar plantations, massive depopulation led to the replacement of the declining labor force by African slaves. Consequently, the African

presence on the eastern coasts of South America (Venezuela, Brazil) and on the islands of the Caribbean is due to the conjuncture of the effects of epidemics on wet coastland semisedentary (medium-to-light) precontact populations and the replacement of this pool of labor by African slaves to the extent that export agricultural/plantation activities developed. Blacks were also brought to Colombia (lowland and coastal areas) and to Peru (along with Asian, primarily Filipino, slaves), especially into the coastal ports of the colonies and into the mining areas (where they served as overseers to native labor and skilled workers).

2. The densest native populations of the Americas were in the highland areas of Mesoamerica, particularly central Mexico, and the Andes, especially in highland Peru and Bolivia. Since this labor force represented the single most important attraction to the colonists, it is fair to say that "where there were no Indians, there were no Spaniards." Therefore, the increased immigration in the latter part of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries, coupled with the depopulation in these nucleated regions, led to radical shifts in the ratio of Europeans and blacks to Indians. This logically led to the development of large mestizo populations in the areas where they are found today. With increased numbers of mestizos came the Hispanization of large sectors of the society, as native populations, by the seventeenth century, had been marginalized primarily in the countryside (in Mesoamerica) or left in the highlands of the Andes, while Spaniards with their native and African servants and laborers hugged the warmer climate of the coasts. This was the beginning of what would be called in the eighteenth century the "castas" (e.g., mulattoes, zambos, etc.), groups made up of various combinations of Europeans, Indians, and Africans.

3. The depopulation in the countryside also had the effect of reducing the thrust of native claims to many of the outlying lands. Consequently, as depopulation coincided with increased European immigration and mining and as the need to feed the cities and laborers became a pressing problem, Spaniards pressured, bought, and litigated their way into ownership of huge tracts of land, at whose margins existed Indian towns where labor was freely and forcefully pressed into service on behalf of the hacendados. This was the beginning of the haciendas, or great estates, that, growing out of the encomiendas, would dominate the countryside of much of the colonies. The presence of the haciendas in the twentieth century in Mexico, Central America, and elsewhere has given rise to a variety of cultural forms along with revolutions, massacres, and extreme forms of poverty.

C. Social, Economic, and Political Factors

1. The single most important point here is how the variety of contact experiences shaped the different ways in which social, economic, and political relations took place. The contrasts are substantial. Going beyond the use of categories of sedentary, semisedentary, and nonsedentary to distinguish the different social factors shaping contact and change possibilities, we can add the following set of critical geographic categories—*whose regions generally shifted upward in status over time*—which in part coincide with the social ones: central areas or cores (beginning at this time with only two: central Mexico and Peru); peripheral contiguous areas with sedentary peoples near the cores, (e.g., Guatemala, Tucuman); peripheral areas distant from the cores (e.g., Colombia, Venezuela, Tucuman, northern Chile, coastal Brazil); fringe areas (distant from and barely or completely unaffected by cores (e.g., Amazonia, northern Mexico, Florida, some of the smaller islands of the Carribbean, southern Chile, southern Argentina, and Buenos Aires—until the 1650s).

   a. For instance, on the islands, tribe-level forms of organization ravaged by diseases offered little in the way of a contestation to Spanish hegemony. Thus, even the natives of the larger islands like Hispaniola (today Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Cuba, and Puerto Rico quickly lost sovereignty and effective local control. The few natives left by the end of the sixteenth century were speedily overwhelmed by the Africans, whose labor was used for agricultural, plantation, and waterfront needs.

   b. This helps to explain why the "Indian" presence as a cultural force among

Caribbean Latinos in the United States is primarily symbolic of a lost past, more than a historical/ethnographic cultural force, and, in turn, why the African cultural influence is substantially greater than the indigenous. Thus, something like *salsa* can originate in the Circumcaribbean, while it has had a very limited impact in the mestizo areas of Mesoamerica or the Andes.

2. On the other hand, in the densely populated areas of Mesoamerica, particularly in central Mexico, the weight of the presence of indigenous communities was such that the precontact native territorial and administrative units were maintained to the extent that they served as the basic demarcations for the religious, laboral (encomienda), and political boundaries of the colonial period. Because the effects of the *congregación*, or the gathering of natives into population clusters, were far stronger in the Andes (because the original native communities were closer to the mines), the precontact native boundaries were not as long-lasting there. In addition, in the Andes, as opposed to central Mexico, the distance between the ethnic groups was greater due to the Indian-highland vs. Spanish-coastland contrast; which, by the way, is reversed in Colombia, where the Indian-black presence is greater among the "Costeños" than in the central highland valleys.

   For further information, see: Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1964); James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University, 1983), [*the single most important book for the whole colonial section*]; John Rowe, "The Incas Under Spanish Colonial Institutions," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 37 (May 1957):155-199; Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society Under Colonial Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1984).

   These texts have the distinct advantage over other cognate works of focusing most of their attention on the transformations of the *majority* of the populations (Indian and mestizo) rather than just covering the elite minority of criollos (American-born Europeans) and Spaniards. These are therefore well-balanced and useful perspectives for understanding not only the colonial institutions but their effects on the populace.

3. The key issues on the economic, political, and social areas are covered in the materials I have suggested. In particular, attention must be paid to the following questions:

   a. Which sectors of the population came to play economic roles that impoverished them or limited their upward mobility? When and where?

   b. To what extent was local political control maintained by the native communities? Where and why?

   c. What were the reasons for the conflicts among the Europeans themselves (e.g., the Church against the encomenderos; these against the viceroyalty; the struggles among the religious orders; the conflicts among commercial, mining, manufacturing, and agricultural interests; the battles between towns and countrysides, etc.)?

   d. How were the various local colonial orders structured?

   e. To what extent were communication and trade with Spain vital? How did this communication affect life in the Americas, and whose lives were affected?

   f. How were the colonies financed (e.g., tribute, export of precious metals, sugar, etc.)?

   g. How was labor organized and used in the various areas categorized above?

   h. How was land held, by whom, and for what purposes?

   i. How were families organized and how did they function? That is, how were elite family alliances structured, how did the middle sector organize its family units, and how did the laboring and slave sectors organize their family units?

   j. How did the mining operations function?

   k. What were the legal foundations for the everyday operation of the colonies?

   l. How was the Church organized and how did it function?

   m. What were the roles of women and children in all these institutions and activities?

   n. How were the educational institutions organized?

o. The list can go on, but the point is *not to focus merely on institutions and the elite, but rather to look at the effects, roles, fates, and hopes of the majority of the population.*

D. The Hispanic Presence in the United States

1. The inroads into the north of Mexico, as a consequence of the mining industry in this area, and their continuation into New Mexico, where isolated, settled towns developed.

2. The inroads into the Californias and the exploration and settlement of the coast. While limited primarily to coastal explorations in the sixteenth century, these inroads and settlements would expand in the eighteenth century, particularly as a string of mission-presidio combinations with limited local populations and small numbers of Hispanicized mestizos, mulattoes, and Spaniards.

3. The explorations into the midwestern, Mississippi River, and Great Plains regions, with no permanent settlements forthcoming except as a result of sporadic military successes.

4. The explorations and settlement of Florida and Georgia, always as ultrafringe areas with very small Hispanic populations.

5. The Indian-Spanish-mestizo conflicts in these areas need special attention as a prelude to Spanish-Anglo and later Mexican-Anglo American struggles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

E. Brazil and the Portuguese Presence

1. An overview of the following progression would be useful: from the early extractive phase focused primarily on dyewood, to the attempts to settle the land under donatary captaincies, and later, to the imposition of royal governance.

2. Key topics are: Indian-Portuguese relations, the beginning and development of the sugar industry, Indian enslavement and the movement toward the importation of African slaves, the French and Dutch attempts to wrest control from the Portuguese, the role of the Jesuits (especially their efforts to convert the Indians), black-Indian relations.

3. As we move into the thick of the sugar age in Brazil in the seventeenth century, attention must be paid to "the world that sugar created": planter families, international economy, life in the *engenho* for all sectors, free and enslaved blacks, town and rural social life, African slavery, commerce, cultural life, government, and the decline of sugar that resulted from competition from the islands.

F. Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Portraits

1. For a portrait of an Indian leader, see J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Martin Ocelotl: Clandestine Cult Leader," in David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds., *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981), pp. 128-141. *This is the book that can provide the most thorough and relevant portraits for the whole colonial period, particularly in the expanded Spanish-language edition,* Lucha por la supervivencia en la América colonial *(Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1987). This story gives one a detailed perspective of the life of a Nahuatl-speaking religious leader, who was prominent before, during, and after the fall of the Aztecs and who ultimately lost his life when exiled from Mexico to Spain by the Inquisition.*

2. For information on a priest from the Azores who lived in Pernambuco (Brazil), see Manoel da Silveira Cardozo, "Antonio de Gouvéia: Adventurer and Priest," in Sweet and Nash, *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America,* pp. 142-164. The best description is the opening paragraph: "Antonio de Gouvéia was an Azorean priest of obscure origins who lived during the incredible years of the sixteenth century, moved about freely in the Atlantic world that the Portuguese had created, and unhinged himself morally and religiously in unhinging times. A deceptively charming man who could endear himself to people in high places, he knew astrology and alchemy, read fortunes, foretold happenings, practiced medicine with the sometime success of the amateur, and believed that he had the key to invisibility. It would be hard to find a better prototype of the worldliness of the clergy of his day—men whose conception of sin was tempered by a primeval innocence—or a better example of the humanism that was at odds with the dark orthodoxy of the court and would not survive the triumphal moralism of the Counter-Reformation."

3. For information on a seventeenth-century native Indian, see Ann Wightman, "Diego Vasicuio: Native Priest" in the Sweet and Nash text, pp. 38-48; for female mulatto

slaves, see Solange Alberro, "Juana de Morga and Gertrudis de Escobar: Rebellious Slaves," in the same book; for a Peruvian example, see Paul Ganster, "Cristobal Béquer: Wayward Prebend" in the same text.

4. For a portrait of a seventeenth-century mulatto, see Richard Boyer, "Juan Vazquez: Mexican Muleteer," *The Americas* (April 1981): 421-443.

5. Beyond the many other examples in the two editions of the Sweet and Nash book—which are of real people and, needless to say, are rare as biographies of nonelite men and women who actually lived in the colonial period—composite biographies of women could be written from: S.L. Cline, *Colonial Culhuacan, 1580-1600: A Social History of an Aztec Town* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1986); the chapter "Women and the Family" in Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodriquez O., *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980); relevant documents from the Inquisition sources, which can be used as in Ruth Behar, "The Visions of a Guachichil Witch in 1599: A Window on the Subjugation of Mexico's Hunter-Gatherers," *Ethnohistory* 34 (Spring, 1987): 115-138; and in the case of the Andes, Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1987).

XVII CENTURY: REINTEGRATION

I. *It is obvious from the above that I believe the curriculum guide could best be organized by broad, meaningful periods (early, mature, late) rather than by such arbitrary categories as centuries. First, developments throughout the Americas took place at different times and in distinct sequences depending on the geographical area, population density encountered, etc. Second, the most significant events/processes did not necessarily ebb and flow with the beginnings and conclusions of the centuries. Third, to simplify the historical period most removed from the experience of the students, it may be best to link the events/processes to categories more conceptually accessible to young modern minds. Thus, much of what I have written under the sixteenth century outline is equally representative of the seventeenth century in a number of areas. The following categories can be useful for developing the full range of transformations across the centuries in each of the relevant areas of colonial experience. Of course, these are not meant to be anything other than suggestive of the important categories that, in whatever manner, should be addressed:*

A. Institutions and Their Functions
   1. Ideology
   2. Organization (colonial and local)
      a. Political/administrative
      b. Religious
      c. Legal
      d. Educational/cultural
      e. Military
      f. Medicine
   3. Personnel
   4. Political context
   5. Effects on everyday life

B. The Economy
   1. Ideology
   2. Organization
      a. Land use and ownership
      b. Finances and credit
      c. Family businesses and other private and public enterprises
      d. Mining
      e. Commerce, markets, and colonial trade
      f. Import-export sector
      g. Crafts and manufacturing
      h. Transportation
   3. Personnel
   4. Political context
   5. Effects on everyday life

C. Social Organization
   1. Ideology (legal and moral)
   2. Organization
      a. De jure and de facto social and legal separation of Indians from others (native life in city, town, and country)
      b. The mixed groups: the caste system
      c. Europeans, criollos, Jews, Protestants, Asians
      d. Family life
      e. Ethnography on life crises
   3. Deviance (criminal, moral, intellectual, religious)
   4. Political context
   5. Effects on everyday life

D. Cultural Life

1. The arts
2. Entertainment
3. Pageantry
4. Leisure
5. Age- and gender-specific recreation
6. Literacy, books

II. *The outline above is meant to help the curriculum experts flesh out the narrative summary in the "Revised Themes" under "XVII Century: Reintegration." There the key issues are the following:*

A. The Mature Colonies

B. By the end of the sixteenth century, consolidation had taken place in the core areas, and the contiguous peripheries were slowly coming under the control of colonial officials and under the economic and social influences of the cores they served.

1. Demographic shift

The precipitous depopulation of the previous century resulted in widespread ethnic and racial mixing in this one, coupled with the explosive growth of criollos (American-born persons of European descent) and mestizos, an increasing European migration, and the acceleration of forced African migration to the coasts of South America (Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru) and the islands of the Caribbean. The changes in the distribution and densities of ethnic/racial groups during this time set the pattern that has remained in place until the present.

2. Land use and tenure

This century is recognized in the Mexican core as the time of the rise of the great estate. The great estates were made possible, in part, because of native depopulation but primarily because of the need to feed the increased numbers of mestizos, criollos, and Europeans who were migrating to and reproducing within the cities. The haciendas, as previously noted, were surrounded by the progressively more isolated and restricted native communities, from which they drew their labor force. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Indian presence in Mesoamerica and Peru had been relegated to the hinterland and highlands, respectively, with natives in the cities serving primarily as servants. Still, Indian communities owned and controlled large tracts of land, fought avidly and generally successfully in the courts to protect these, and continued to constitute the backdrop against which all activities and processes of colony-wide consequence took place, especially in the mestizo areas that were to become the countries of Mexico, Central America, and the Andes.

3. Plantations and slavery

The enslavement of large numbers of African peoples began at this time. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese-controlled northern coasts of what became Brazil were embarking on the plantation system and were beginning to call for the massive importation of Africans because Indian slaves proved to be ineffective agricultural laborers (the women were the traditional agriculturists), were difficult to constrain from running away, and died easily.

III. The Peripheral Areas

A. Characteristics of the Core (Mexico and Peru)

1. Key assets
   a. Silver deposits
   b. Dense, sedentary Indian populations with intensive agriculture, systematic tribute collection, and organized labor mechanisms
2. These attracted large numbers of European immigrants
3. These built or promoted
   a. Stable networks of cities
   b. Estates, mines, international commercial enterprises
4. These brought about
   a. Early creation of ecclesiastical and governmental buildings, institutions, and networks
   b. Local societies containing most of the constituent groups of the full Iberian original (including European women, professionals, a wide variety of European occupational specialists), black slaves, and Hispanics (Hispanicized mestizos, mulattoes, pardos, etc.)
5. These necessitated close communications with metropolis (home country)

B. Characteristics of the Peripheries

The peripheries missed some or all of the above,

depending on the nature and quantity of their other natural resources, their proximity (communicability) to a core, and the level of sedentariness and density of the indigenous communities. As peripheries became more integrated into a core (by supplying and copying it), or as they developed resources that transformed them into a core (e.g., northeastern Brazil by the 1580s), they took on the characteristics of a core.

1. No major export asset (only barter products)
2. First-generation immigrants humble, marginal, and nearly all male
3. European society and all its structures remained truncated, less differentiated, more diffused or fragmented
4. Area relatively isolated, outside main international networks, neglected by royal government
5. Cities and other European settlements unstable
6. Indian-European relations (due to their great divergence in modes of organization) led to exclusion, total or radical transformation, left Indians as a threat because they were considered intractable (e.g., Indian slavery, missions, or prolonged war), or extreme forms of fusion (e.g., areas of Paraguay, Amazon) took place where Indians were semisedentary and stable economic relations were possible (as opposed to open country with mobile hunters or areas where temperate-forest peoples predominated)
7. Therefore, potential for high degree of interpenetration of indigenous and European societies, where social, cultural, and biological fusion predominate and are widespread (due to few European women and the second generation being heavily mestizo) and consequently subject to a deep penetration of Indian culture)
8. A large and lasting role for regular religious orders (as opposed to secular parish priests)
9. Long-lasting military mobilization by local Europeans
10. Therefore, conquest and mature periods not easily distinguishable, if at all
11. Slow basic structural changes; therefore, traits have archaic flavor
12. In Spanish areas, long-persisting encomienda structure (Indian labor or tribute taxation on behalf of estate owners)

C. Peripheral Zones
   1. Rio de la Plata, southern Brazil
   2. Amazonia
   3. Venezuela

D. Frontier Zones (ultra-peripheral)
   1. North Mexican frontier (beginning north of the Rio Lerma and expanding into what became Texas, California, New Mexico (alongside sedentary communities), Baja California, and southeastern U.S.)
   2. Southern Chile

XVIII CENTURY: THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD (1750-1810)

I. Resurgence

A. Demographic Growth and Increased Ethnic-racial Intermixture and Hispanization

1. Absolute increase in all ethnic sectors, but shift in ratios as the percentage of Indians declined substantially in comparison with Spaniards and, especially, the castas (mixed groups), which always outnumbered Spaniards in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere.

   a. The explosive growth of castas, to the point of becoming a majority in many places, led to the close identification and naming of socioethnic subtypes: e.g., *zambo, pardo, tente al aire, salta atrás.* However, the original five categories of the mature colonial period (and the stereotypes associated with them) continued to dominate ethnic categorization and were the only ones that had legal consequences. These were Spanish, mestizo, Indian, black, and mulatto.

   b. The complexity of the expanding vocabulary of race and ethnicity made it possible for people to pass out of one category and into another as their socioeconomic status shifted; in turn restrictions based on socio-racial categories increased.

   c. The expansion of mestizaje as a cultural form, with localized cultures, speech, and outlook, resulted in sharper divisions in the various geographic areas between locals and outsiders. The same applies for American "Spaniards" ("creoles") vs. Spanish Spaniards ("peninsulars" or "Europeans").

d. Mestizos were supplanting blacks in intermediary roles and Spaniards in higher positions and were taking over functions traditionally in the Indian domain. However, while development of pan-Indian consciousness was taking place, intermarriage by Hispanicized Indians, along with increased urban migration, reduced the native communities and promoted the disappearance of an Indian world in many areas or led to its reduction to isolated corporate units.

B. Commerce, the Economy, Labor

1. Progressively more widespread creole control of local and colonial politics (to be reversed in last years by Bourbon colonial policies), although international commerce remained in peninsular hands; expansion of creole family networks
2. Expansion of large estates to supply food to growing populations and new consuming sectors in cities and for regional markets; in addition, export crops and livestock also expanded
3. Diversification of products and exports
4. Rise of majority of permanent workers in mines and forced consumption practices imposed on native labor

II. To close this section, the following key points should be addressed:

A. The Shifts in the Nature (ethnic composition) and Size of the Populations of the Various Regions

B. The Consolidation of the East of South America: especially Buenos Aires and the Plata Region, Venezuela, and the Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo Areas of Southern Brazil (particularly as a consequence of the late gold boom)

C. The Intellectual Trends

D. The Bourbon Economic and Political Reforms (including the new political order and boundaries established under the intendancy structure of administration)

E. The Rise of Standing Armies

F. The Reforms in Brazil under the Marquis of Pombal

G. The Colonial and International Forces that Precipitated the Wars of Independence

H. The Wars Themselves and Their Local Significance

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The Sephardic Influence and Contributions

by Joy Zacharia Appelbaum

The magnitude of the Sephardic contribution to the birth and growth of the United States has long been appreciated by scholars of many denominations. Our school textbooks, however, have totally ignored the Sephardim's more than significant role.

The Quincentennial Celebration of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Americas is a long overdue opportunity to recognize this underpublicized but remarkable minority. It is the intent of this paper to bring to light the Sephardim's considerable participation.

Who are the Sephardim? The word *Sephard* is the biblical name for Spain. Thus, the term *Sephardim* referred to Jews who originally came from the Iberian Peninsula and were then dispersed throughout Italy,[1] Holland, France and, especially, the Ottoman Empire, before coming to the Western Hemisphere. Since the establishment of the State of Israel by a predominantly Ashkenazic (Eastern European) government, however, Sephardic has become the umbrella designation for any group that is not Ashkenazic.

In his book *The Source*, James A. Michener elaborates on this expanded definition:

> The Sephardim constituted the aristocracy of Judaism while the Ashkenazim were the uneducated field hands. It was the Sephardim who produced many of the great Jews of history—Maimonides and Spinoza—for example and certainly in America they formed the elite characterized by men like Justice Benjamin Cardozo. But when education became available in Eastern Europe, the Ashkenazim quickly gained the ascendancy, while the once-honored name Sephardi was denigrated and applied to all Jews who were not Ashkenazi, whether they had any association with Spain or not, so that, today, Sephardi meant loosely the Oriental Jew as opposed to the European, the lumpen proletariat as contrasted to the sophisticated expert from Russia or German....

As this "Sephardic" population is currently 60 percent of Israel's population, greater attention is being given to the mosaic composition of the new collective term, forcing a breakdown into different categories. For our purposes here, however, we use the original definition of Sephardic as connoting those of Spanish and Portuguese ancestry.

Connections between Jews and Spain go back as far as Jonah's foolish flight from G-d.[2] He boarded a ship to Tarshish, which has since been identified as the Spanish harbor town of Cadiz, in the region of Andalusia. Later, there is an identifiable Jewish presence in Spain as far back as the destruction of the second temple in 70 CE, when the Romans took the Jews from Babylonia to the remote and isolated Iberian Peninsula. As a result many Spanish locales even bear names derived from the Hebrew:

Sevilla	Shefala (the Plain)
Gedeira	Gedera (the Enclosed City)
Malaga	Malak Kiryah (City of Angels)

The Honorable Shlomo Ben-Ami, Israel's ambassador to Spain and former professor of history at Tel Aviv University, said:

> The Golden Age of Spanish Judaism coincided with, and was made possible by, the splendor of the caliphate of Moslem Cordoba. Jewish culture in Spain was firmly established in the beginning of the

[1] One of the many recent symposia—"The Jews of Spain: Recent Scholarship on Their History and Culture"-was held on April 14, 1986, at the Institute for Sephardic Studies of CUNY's Graduate Center. It featured then Consul General of Spain Manuel Sassot; Institute Director Dr. Jane Gerber; Father Robert I. Burn, S.J. of the University of California at Los Angeles; Dr. Norman Roth of the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Benjamin Gampel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Dr. Robert Chazan of Queens College.

[2] In keeping with the author's religious belief and Jewish tradition, all references to the deity are rendered as G-d.

tenth century, with a number of pathfinder etymologists and poets, such as Dunash Ben Labrat, Menahem Ben Saruk and Issac Ibn Chicatilla.

Long before the Renaissance awakened Western Europe from the Dark Ages, before Leonardo Da Vinci and Michelangelo, the Arab world was a center of scientific and mathematic discovery, which they brought with them to Spain and shared with the Jews, who knew Arabic. Some of the brightest moments of Sephardic culture were reached in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the achievements of such geniuses as Yehudah Halevy, Moses Ibn Ezra, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Shemuel Ha-Nagid, Nachmanides, and Bahya Ibn Pakuda, among hundreds more who flourished and elevated scholarship to new heights. The great Maimonides, Moshe Ben Maimon, rabbinic authority, codifier, philospher, and royal physician, lived and worked in this period. He is considered to be the most illustrious figure in Judaism in the post-Talmudic era and one of the greatest of all times. His influence on the future of Judaism is almost incalculable with his unique writings: *Mishnah Torah, Responsa,* and *Guide to the Perplexed.* As a physician, he was master of his craft and a highly original scientific innovator. He was the first to put Medieval Jewish philosophy on a firm Aristotelian basis. "Maimonides was the pearl on the crown of Sephardic Judaism under Moslem rule."[3]

Sephardic scholars pioneered in the legitimization of the new Castillian language, by using it as a tool of philosophy and science, in addition to social articulation. At the beginning of the twelfth century, Christian Toledo was the center for the famous school for translators, featuring such eminent Jewish scholars as Yehuda Ben Moshe, Shmuel Halevi Abulafia and Sag el de Toledo. Originally, these scholars devoted their abilities to translating the major scientific and philosophic treatises from Arabic and ancient Greek into Latin.[4] By their unique work as the Castillianizers of Latin Spain, they became major contributors to the configuration of the incipient Spanish nationhood.

The Medieval Sephardic scholars were the impetus for voyages to the New World. They had labored for a century before in order to provide the necessary tools for the conquistadores. In the fourteenth century, Immanuel Bonfils, a French Jew, invented the decimal system, a century and a half before its acceptance and use by European scientists. In the same century, Levi Ben Gerson introduced modern trigonometry. He also invented the quadrant, known as Jacob's staff, which proved to be invaluable for navigation. Other celebrated Sephardic astronomers and cosmographers were Pedro Nuñez, Joseph Vecinho, and Abraham Ibn Ezra.[5]

Indeed, Columbus had no reason to fear falling off the end of the world because he had a compass, invented by Abraham Cresques, known throughout Europe as the Mallorcan Jew and the Master of Maps and Compasses; and he had a map, from Judah Cresques, known as the Map Jew (even though he had been forced to convert) and head of Portugal's Academy of Navigation.[6] He set sail with Abraham Zacuto, the professor of astronomy from the University of Salamanca, as his navigator. Zacuto, a Sephardic Jew, had been the Royal Astronomer to the Portuguese Court of John II. Yehuda Ben-Moshe Cohen and Isaac Ben Sid had created the *Tablas Alfonsinas* on the basis of which Galileo Galilei was later to establish some of his theories.

Was Christopher Columbus Jewish? Among scholars who are convinced that the available facts about the discoverer's life emphatically imply a Spanish-Jewish background or heritage are Salvador de Madariaga and Cecil Roth.[7] Because there is no record of his birthplace, his nationality and religion remain uncertain and controversial.[8] Many facts with both clear and elusive meanings have been established about Columbus:

- He spoke Italian but could speak, read, and write in Spanish. He could also read Latin.

[3] Shlomo Ben-Ami at Queens College, November 1988.

[4] *Ladiner:* to translate into Latin. Because Jews were translators of Arabic, and other languages, into Latin, their Spanish-Jewish dialect was called *Ladino.*

[5] In 1645, a Jesuit astronomer, Riccioli, named craters on the moon for Levi Ben Gerson, Abraham Ibn Ezra, and Abraham Zacuto, in one of the earliest moon maps to be charted.

[6] As far back as 1376, a Cresques had prepared the famous *mapamundi,* the first world map to incorporate the findings of Marco Polo's voyages.

[7] Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal's book *Sails of Hope* is devoted exclusively to consolidating his extensive research, with the finding of many scholars, to confirm that Columbus was a *converso.* Mr. Wiesenthal is the celebrated Chief of the Documentation Center in Vienna.

[8] Dr. Angel Alcala, professor of Spanish at Brooklyn College, maintains that Columbus was from Genoa. In a recent treatise, *The Origin, Ethnic Identity and Personality of Cristóbal Colón,* published by the Spanish National Society at the University of Madrid and prepared for the "Sociedad Estatal del Quintocentenario," Alcala states that Columbus, himself, declares he was born in Northern Italy (in or near Genoa) in his Last Will and Testament.

Friar Nectario M., of LaSalle Institute claims Columbus was referring to Genova, a town near Palma de Majorca, where a structure known as Colon's house is still singled out. "The confusion was deliberately fostered by Colon who," says Friar Nectario, "hid his true identity for political and religious reasons."

- His mother was named Susana Fontegrossa. Susana was a name usually given only to Jewish women, derivative of the Hebrew name, Shoshana.

- He inscribed the Hebrew letter *bet* and *he* at the top of his missives to his son, Diego. This symbol was used then and still is today by observant Jews on their correspondence to represent the initials of the words *Bah-rookh Ha-Shem*, "Praised be G-d."

- He continually used the name of Cristóbal Colón or Colóm, instead of Christoforo Colombo and insisted that his heirs use this name. Colón was a fairly common surname for Sephardic Jews during the thirteenth through eighteenth centuries.

- He used a secret and complex signature that formed a triangular configuration and then mandated in his *mayorazgo* (his Last Will and Testament) that his elder son retain this signature in the family precisely as he wrote it. It has been suggested that the signature has Cabalistic, Jewish mystical, significance.[9]

- Columbus wrote to his son, in one letter, "I am not the first admiral of my family; for David was first a shepherd and, afterwards, King of Jerusalem, and I am a servant of the same Lord Who raised him to such dignity."

- He calculated the age of the world according to the Jewish calendar: "from the beginning of the world to this year, 1481, there were 5241 years."

- He postponed his sailing to the New World so as not to coincide with the month of *Av* (August 2nd, that year), because of the date's tragic association with the destruction of both temples in Jerusalem.

- Columbus' Will stated that dowries be provided for indigent brides, which was a custom of long standing among Jews. His Will concluded with a strange allocation "to a Jew who was living at the entrance of the ghetto in Lisbon."

- Columbus' writings not only express a familiarity with the Old Testament but with the writings of Josephus, the Jewish historian of Roman times.

There is much more evidence to suggest he was from a *Marrano* family or descended from Jews. Many even maintain that among the explorer's writings was found the *Kol Nidre* prayer, a secret sign for mutual recognition among *Marranos*.[10]

Our textbooks consistently say that Queen Isabella sold her jewels to finance Columbus' voyage. In reality, however, his financiers were four "New Christians," Jews who had openly converted to Christianity: Luis de Santangel, Chancellor of the Royal Household; Juan Cabrero, the King's Chamberlain; Gabriel Sanchez, Treasurer General to the King; and Alfonso de la Caballeria. These men were desperate; they were looking for a way to escape the terrors of the Inquisition. They were converts and only *conversos* were tried by the Inquisitorial Courts; professed Jews were just in danger of discrimination and eventual expulsion. Luis de Santangel loaned half the cost, 7,000 florins, of the first voyage in order to persuade Queen Isabella to sponsor Columbus. In gratitude, Columbus sent his first letter from the New World to him.[11]

Columbus finally set sail from Palos, Spain, and landed first at San Salvador, Cuba. His interpreter, Luis de Torres, became the first European since Leif Erickson to set foot in the Western Hemisphere. Scholars speculate that Columbus brought an interpreter with him because he believed the inhabitants would speak either Hebrew or Arabic and Luis de Torres spoke both, in addition to four other Asiatic languages.

Torres did very well using sign language and was able to ingratiate himself with the natives. He decided to settle in Cuba, never to return to Spain. He was given a large tract of land by the Chieftain and established a trade system with the Old World. It was Luis de Torres, not Sir Walter Raleigh, who introduced Europe to tobacco, corn, and potatoes and named the turkey after the Hebrew word for parrot (*tukki*).

SEPHARDIM IN THE COLONIES

New York

The first known Jewish settler in what was to become the United States was Jacob Barsimson, from Holland. Because of his intervention, Governor Peter Stuyvesant was forced to admit 23 ragged refugees from Recife, Brazil, who were attempting to escape the newly

[9] Rabbi Sidney J. Jacobs, "The Enigma of Cristobal Colon," *Liberty Magazine*, July 8, 1981. Rabbi Jacobs is the editor of *Jacob's Ladder*.

[10] *Marrano* was a perjorative expression that connoted an overt conversion to Christianity with continued covert practice of Judiasm. The name was coined by observant Jews who disdained their fomer coreligionists for openly converting. Christians referred to them as *conversos* or *Nuevos Christianos*.

[11] It is interesting to note that it was a Jewish courtier, Don Abraham Senior, who first proposed the marriage between Isabella and Ferdinand. Alonso de Palencia, another Jewish courtier, raised the money for Isabella's gold betrothal necklace from other Jewish dignitaries.

enforced Inquisition from Portugal. Barsimson appealed to the Dutch West India Company, in which Sephardic Jews were very influential, to permit the escapees to settle in New Amsterdam. Among them was a Nathan, a Seixas, and a Cardozo, venerable names today in New York City's Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue. If it had not been for the continuation of persecution and its extension to South America, Sephardic Jews might never have come to North America.

Through the perseverance and determination of such Sephardic Jewish pioneers as Barsimson, Asher Levy, Abraham de Lucena, Jacob Cohen Henriques, Salvador Dandrada, Joseph d'Acosta and David Frera, full citizenship rights were, in due course, won for the Jews of New Amsterdam. "It should never be forgotten that this tiny group of Jews laid the foundation of what was to become here in the United States the largest Jewish community under one flag, the strongest and the freest in the 2,000 years that this people has been dispersed all over the earth."[12]

Under British colonial rule, Jews were permitted to establish their first synagogue, Congregation Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel), which continues to flourish today. The first American-born Jewish clergyman, Rabbi Gershon Mendes Seixas, of this pulpit, participated in the inauguration of President George Washington and, later, became a trustee of Columbia University.

Another celebrated member of this congregation was its president, Lewis Gomez. Gomez was a wealthy merchant who had lived in Spain, France, and England before arriving in colonial New York in 1705 with special privileges assigned to him by England's Queen Anne. Gomez headed the most prominent Jewish family in North America. He and his sons traded with the Indians and provided goods to the British military forces north of Albany and in Canada.

Sometime between 1717 and 1720, Lewis Gomez and one of his sons, Daniel, erected a combination trading post, blockhouse, and residence. They built it at the point where several Hudson River Indian trails come together in a hollow once known as the Devil's Dance Chamber, where Indians gathered for tribal rites. This building is the oldest structure built by colonial Jews in North America that is still standing and in use. The stream that ran past the Gomez House, to join the Hudson River at Marlboro, was identified for many years as "Jew's Creek" on early maps and records. It is now known as Acker's Creek. The house was sold by the Gomez sons in 1748 and is now a private residence.

One of the Gomez' relatives was among the founders of the New York Stock Exchange. Lewis Gomez' grandson, Isaac, was one of those Revolutionary War patriots who left New York, rather than live under British occupation. His great-grandson, Benjamin Gomez, was the first American Jewish book publisher in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was regarded by the Pilgrims as the New Jerusalem and was the first colony to grant Jews citizenship. When Harvard was established, Hebrew was taught, along with Greek and Latin. No one was allowed to graduate without being able to read and translate the Five Books of Moses.

Connecticut

Jews first settled in Connecticut in 1722. The fabulously wealthy Pinto family from Venice sent their sons to Yale, where Hebrew and Jewish traditions were taught. The Yale insignia still includes Hebrew letters.

South Carolina

South Carolina had a substantial Jewish settlement in Charleston, most likely because of its liberal government and its active trading port. The first large influx of Jews was in 1741 from neighboring Georgia. By 1749, there were enough Jews to form Congregation Beth Elohim (House of G-d)

Rhode Island

Rhode Island could boast of such prominent Sephardic families as those of Aaron Lopez, who owned one of America's largest merchant fleets and helped subsidize the Revolution, and Isaac Touro, whose sons Abraham and Judah were major philanthropists to nondenominational causes.

Aaron Lopez, Rhode Island's foremost citizen, owned a fleet of 30 transatlantic ships and over 100 coastal vessels. He was among a large number of Jews who actively supported independence from Britain; so much so that he and others left Rhode Island after its capture by the British. Many fled to Leicester, Massachusetts, where they established the first Jewish settlement in the Bay Colony, before eventually returning to Rhode Island. When he died, Lopez was buried in Newport in "The Jewish Cemetery of Newport," the subject of Longfellow's poem.

Pennsylvania

As early as 1680, before William Penn, there were Jews in what was to become Pennsylvania. Whether they were newcomers or people who had wandered down from New York, names like Aaron, Franks, Marks, and Levy

[12] *Honoring 1776 and Famous Jews in American History*, Joseph Jacobs Organization, 1975.

appeared around 1700. By the 1840s enough Sephardic Jews had collected to build their first synagogue, Mikveh Israel (Hope of Israel).

Aaronsburg, Pennsylvania, the first locale named for a Jew, was founded by Aaron Levy in 1779. Levy was a Revolutionary patriot, Indian trader, soldier, and merchant, who helped finance the Revolution by buying large quantities of war bonds. The town still exists today in the heart of the Pennsylvania Dutch county.

Maryland

There was no Jewish settlement in Maryland until after the Revolution. Records indicate only one Jewish inhabitant, Jacob Lumboso, a physician from Portugal, who arrived in 1656. While practicing medicine, he purchased land and traded with the Indians. Two years later, Lumboso was arrested for not believing in the Christian religion (according to the "Act Concerning Religions"). This case is the only one of its kind in the entire 13 colonies. Dr. Lumboso was freed under a general amnesty in honor of Richard Cromwell and was later accorded partial citizenship. He returned to his work, acquired considerable property, and cultivated a stately plantation.

Georgia

In July 1733, 40 Sephardic Jews arrived in Georgia via London, refugees of the Portuguese Inquisition. These Jewish settlers and those who came later were experts in silk raising and wine producing, the main industries of this colony. Abraham De Lyon was so successful as a vintner that his vineyard became a showplace.

SEPHARDIM AND THE REVOLUTION

Until the American Revolution, there were less than 3,000 Jews and only six congregations in the 13 colonies (and almost all of them were Sephardic). About 300 Jews served in the American Continental armies or the militia, constituting more than 10 percent of the Jewish population. Twenty-four were officers; four attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, three were majors, and six reached captain status. A noted hero of this war was Major Benjamin Nones. He fought in several campaigns and was cited for courage and bravery.

Most of the Jewish population backed the colonists, at great sacrifice to themselves, since many earned their living by importing merchandise from England and selling it to the colonies. Because they supported the Revolutionary cause, their merchant ships and warehouses were frequently confiscated by England.

Other Sephardim including Moses Michael Hays and Lieutenant Colonel David Salisbury Franks were Revolutionary heroes. Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Franks enlisted at the age of 17 and later became an aide-de-camp to General Washington. Jonas Philips was an ardent patriot, who joined the Philadelphia Militia at age 43 despite being the father of a large family. David Emanuel served in the Georgia Militia and was captured and sentenced to death by the Loyalists, but escaped and later became a member of the Constitutional Conventions of 1789 and 1795. Philips Moses Russell was commended by George Washington for attending to the sick and wounded at Valley Forge.

South Carolinian Sephardim who funded the American Revolution included Francis Salvador, who was elected as a delegate to the first South Carolina Provincial Congress. He was the first Jewish member of an American state legislature, and later, the first Jewish casualty (at age 29) of the Revolutionary War. Isaac DaCosta and Moses Lindo, developers of the fabulous Carolina indigo trade that was the backbone of the wealth of the colony, were also major, well-known in their time, financiers of United States independence. Jewish participation was so prominent in South Carolina that their regiment was nicknamed the "Jews Regiment."

SEPHARDIM IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLIC

By 1825 the Jewish population had grown to 10,000. Many Sephardic Jews participated in the continuing development of the United States in the period between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. They were active in many occupations and trades and served their country in numerous areas.

Mordecai Manuel Noah gained fame and success in a number of different arenas. Born in Philadelphia in 1785, he was a journalist, playwright, judge, a major in the New York Militia, and the High Sheriff of New York. President James Madison appointed him as United States Consul to Tunis, but Secretary of State James Monroe, who deemed that Noah's religion made him unsuitable for this post, recalled him three years later.

Judah Touro was an exceptional American Jewish personality of the post-Revolutionary War period. He was born in Boston, but ventured to New Orleans in 1802, at the age of 23, where in a short time, he prospered and became a successful merchant. Ten years later Touro was seriously wounded in the War of 1812, and subsequently used his wealth to become a philanthropist extraordinaire. He lived to 79 years old and left a fortune to hospitals, orphanages, relief organizations, parks, and libraries, as well as to synagogues and Hebrew schools.

Henry Castro emigrated from France and became a United States citizen, only to find himself, several years later, representing the fledgling republic of Texas in the country of his birth. President Sam Houston requested that he undertake this important financial mission, two

years after Texas seceded from Mexico, as Consul-General for Texas in France. In 1842, he went on to be awarded a contract to establish a settlement west of the Medina River, which was named Castroville in 1844. Over a three-year period, Castro ferried some 5,000 immigrants, mostly from Alsace, France, to Texas, initially providing them with the necessities of life and means of earning a living as farmers and ranchers, at a personal cost of $150,000. He also established four other towns and was honored by having a county named for him.

In 1841, David Levy Yulee of Florida was the first Jew to be elected to the House of Representatives and followed this in 1845 with being the first Jew to win a seat in the United States Senate. There is a Florida county that carries his name, and in Georgia, on the Florida border, is the town of Yulee-on, named for him as well.[13]

During the Civil War, Jews fought on both sides, with estimates of 6,000 Union soldiers and 1,500 in the Confederate military. The Confederacy had more Jewish generals, however, and Sephardic Jews were high in their ranks. Judah Benjamin represented the Deep South in the United States Senate before the war and eventually became Secretary of State of the Confederacy. Often referred to as the "Brains of the Confederacy," historians consider Benjamin as the most prominent Jew of nineteenth century America.

Solomon Nunes Carvalho started as a portrait painter of such famous people as Abraham Lincoln and Judah Touro, but is best remembered as the official mapmaker of the land routes through the Rocky Mountains to the West Coast. As second in command of the daring John C. Fremont Expedition of 1853-54, he was the first to record the mountainous passages to the Pacific Ocean; routes that were shortly thereafter used by wagon trains, the Pony Express, the railroad and, finally, by today's superhighways. Although he was also known as an excellent photographer, none of his photos survive. His book, however, is the chief remaining source of information about this nation-building expedition.

Commodore Uriah P. Levy, famed naval hero, started as a cabin boy at age 10 and later served his country from the War of 1812 to 1862. Levy is known for many accomplishments. He was among the first naval officers to recognize men for their ability, not their ethnic roots or social standing. Perhaps his most significant accomplishment was that Levy fathered a law that abolished flogging in the Navy. Before the Naval Academy came into existence, Commodore Levy, then the Navy's highest ranking officer, wrote and published the *Manual of Rules for Men of War*, the first printed guidebook setting forth young officers' duties aboard ship.

An ardent admirer of Thomas Jefferson, Levy purchased Jefferson's home, Monticello, in 1836, and devoted his resources to restoring it. Throughout his entire life, he remained a religious Jew. Therefore, it is fitting and appropriate that the first permanent Jewish Chapel built by the United States Armed Forces should honor his memory. The Commodore Levy Chapel stands near the main gate of the historic Naval Station in Norfolk, Virginia.

Sephardic women made important contributions to the birth and growth of America. Abigail Minis was a revolutionary patriot and a colonial matriarch, who provided sorely needed goods for the Continental Army. The well-known poem of Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus," is inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty. Annie Nathan Meyer, at only 22 years old, established Barnard College, the first women's college to be affiliated with a major university.

SEPHARDIM IN MODERN AMERICA

The late nineteenth century saw the influx of Sephardic Jews from the Levant, the former Ottoman Empire. They emigrated in large numbers from 1890 to 1925. Records indicate that some 50,000-60,000 Levantine Sephardim settled here in that period. Most remained on Manhattan's Lower East Side, but some ventured to Seattle, Atlanta, Rochester, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, where they are still a significant presence.

Currently, the definition of Sephardic, as previously discussed, has expanded to include Jews from Moslem countries that share the Sephardic style service. Of these, the Syrian community of Brooklyn constitutes the most viable. In addition to its many congregations within this small area, it has established its own educational and recreational institutions.

Sephardic Jews today are a minority within a minority. They compose three percent of the United States Jewish population, which is only three percent of the entire country's population.

The Sephardim of the twentieth century have continued to contribute to the quality of life in the United States. Among their ranks are Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Nathan Cardozo, Nobel Laureates Drs. Baruj Benacerraf and Salvador E. Luria, concert pianist Murray Perahia, symphonic conductor Maurice Abravanel, and the Honorable Abraham D. Sofaer, Legal Advisor to the United States State Department.

CONCLUSION

The magnitude of the Sephardic social, economic, political, and intellectual contributions to the United States is

[13] In the United States, there are 93 towns, villages, hamlets, counties, lakes, and forests named for Jews. They are located throughout 35 states; more than one third are in the South, the most in Texas. In the greater New York metropolitan area, none are named for Sephardic Jews.

testimony to the great affection Sephardim feel for this relatively young and vital country. Their history, briefly alluded to here, is illustrative of their participation in each culture in which they lived. This participation continued here in North America with even greater fervor. Their ancestors, who came to these shores, took great risks of many kinds. As Americans, they have fought in all its wars and have expended physical and mental energy in amazing proportion to their small numbers.

The United States was the very first country to grant all Jews full citizenship; to provide them with every opportunity to develop their potential; to allow them the ability of sustaining massive support for the underprivileged at home and abroad. Thousands of years of oppression have taught them the value of democracy and the meaning of liberty. Sephardic Jews have adopted the words of Irving Berlin, a non-Sephardic Jew, "G-d Bless America."

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Latin America: The Nineteenth Century

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This is a position paper on what I believe to be salient and formative themes in Latin American social history from the post-Independence (ca. 1820) period to the dawn of the Mexican Revolution (1910). This is not intended in any way to be a historical sketch. Rather, it is an edited set of key phenomena and themes in nineteenth century Latin American history that I believe to have been formative in creating the region as we know it in the twentieth century. The perspective I bring is not that of a historian but of a cultural anthropologist looking at the present in terms of the fairly recent past. My goal is to cast an eye to how Latin America has entered the national experience and consciousness of the United States in the twentieth century.

The topics are organized as follows:

(1) Nationalism and the Criollo
(2) Centrism and Federalism
(3) *Caudillaje, Caciquismo,* Dictators, and the Army
(4) Positivism and Liberalism
(5) The *Científicos*
(6) The New Immigration
(7) Foreign Investment and Capitalism
(8) Urbanization
(9) Nativistic Movements
(10) Brazil Considered Briefly

NATIONALISM AND THE CRIOLLO

The Wars of Independence (1810-1825) and the subsequent creation of new nations are phenomena that pertain only to Hispanic Latin America. Some of the Caribbean became independent before that time (e.g., Haiti in 1804). Brazil housed the Portuguese royal family from 1808 to 1821, establishing a unique and successful experiment with constitutional monarchy that lasted until 1891. Cuba and Puerto Rico did not cease to be Spanish colonies until 1898. Puerto Rico has remained a colonial entity even today, although many would dispute the exact nature of its territorial status under United States sovereignty. Some of the Caribbean (Martinique, for example) is, in fact, legally and administratively a part of France.

It is easy, therefore, to generalize when referring to the nineteenth century as the "nationalist" phase of Latin American history. Obviously, this generalization needs to be tempered by the clutter of historical events occurring at that time; generalizations must be qualified.

The ideologies of the American (United States) Revolution and the French Revolution were conscious models for Latin America's Independence Movement, yet it is important to note that the "nationalistic period" of Latin American history was dotted with early pan-national experiments, notably Iturbide's Central American Empire (1822-23) and Simón Bolívar's confederation of Gran Colombia (1819-1830). These experiments failed, but the ideology of unity persisted even when unity could not be achieved, notably in the case of the Central American Federation that lasted from 1823 to 1839.

Nationalism in Hispanic Latin America was intimately linked with the effort of criollos (Spaniards born in the New World) to forge a home for themselves on a continent divested of identity with the deposed Spanish Crown.[1] The criollos, who were in power when Spain departed, naturally sought to stay in power. They accomplished their goal by creating states in which it made sense—at least to themselves and to Europe and the United States—that they should be the heirs apparent of the Spanish Crown.

This strategy effectively produced the map of modern Spanish America. Seats of the old viceroyalties—Mexico, Peru, Gran Colombia (Venezuela and Colombia), and La Plata (Argentina)—became dominant new nations; others, however grudgingly, became lesser nations.

It is hard to find an exception to the early and powerful desire of the new nations to exalt their own claims to

[1] From here on, the use of *criollo* refers not only to Spaniards born in the New World but also to the upper-class, white European social sector that controlled the social, political, and economic life of Hispanic America in the nineteenth century.

legitimacy. These secular, liberal states worked zealously to legitimize themselves without bearing allegiance to a common Christian past. Their efforts at legitimacy emerged in the search for a particular national past. As they anxiously sought roots, they set about creating a unique past; regional history and *costumbrista* literature came to the fore. This quest for a past sometimes led to excesses in the mining of national heritage. A past had to be found, even if it was created from scratch with the help of romantic novels and epic tales of ancient roots (i.e., in Germany, Ireland, Finland, and Italy). Latin America followed suit, for example, with José Hernández and Domingo Sarmiento of Argentina.

Nineteenth century Latin American history was punctuated with aggressive moments of nationalism, which, indeed, led to the creation of Uruguay as a Hispanic buffer state between Brazil and Argentina. Nationalism was also the impetus of the 1879-1884 War of the Pacific, in which Bolivia lost its access to the sea and was forced to defer to the strong armies and economies of Peru and Chile.

CENTRISM AND FEDERALISM

Nations, once formed, typically did not consist of joint territorial and political sovereignty. The primary reason was demographic. Most Hispanic nations had a series of noncontiguous core settlement areas, separated by vast hinterlands. This noncontiguous, nucleated settlement pattern led to regionalism, in which authority systems were local and nations were largely fictions. Regionalism led to federalism. The powerful criollo elites, however, lived in the old capital cities and provincial capitals. The old aristocracy of land, army, and church was linked by ties of kinship and common interests in such a way that the national and provincial capitals expressed a political preference for central authority, which was usually conservative, proclerical, and favorably disposed to large landholders. The political expression of the centrist elements was typically conservative in the Burkean sense that suggests that power and tradition beget wisdom and thus ought to be so; hence, the alliance with the military was needed to emphasize this truth.

Federalism was skeptical of the centrist vision and generally followed United States models of regionally based consensus, with the central government being more a bureaucratic than a policy-making entity. Federalism was liberal in the sense of valuing individual and regional expressions of self-interest. This meant that elements beneath the landholding aristocracy were entitled to electoral expression, the acquisition of property, education, and general participation in "social progress." Federalism tended to favor the secular state and decreased power for the Catholic Church.

The oscillation between federalist and centrist models was the great leitmotif of Latin American political life in the nineteenth century, and it expressed itself clearly from Argentina to Mexico. The pattern of oscillation yielded periods of liberal "reform," such as the Juarez era in Mexico (1857-1872), in which liberal, federalist models encouraged diffusion of economic and political authority from the central to regional governments. The great irony of federalism was that in "including" Indian communities in national life, communal lands became privatized and thus quickly alienable through cash sale and acquisition by large landholders. Thus, liberalism and federalism were actually responsible for the proletarianization of the rural poor, Indian and mestizo, for those whose communal and private property rights had been sold were forced to migrate to the haciendas, plantations, or cities.

The oscillating pattern of centrism and federalism also tended, in centrist periods, to emphasize development of urban centers and their access to port cities. This lack of interest in the hinterland, beyond its economic utility, had an obvious result: the hinterland was never incorporated into national cultural and political life. The social and economic relations between city and countryside became progressively more unidirectional, with wealth flowing out to the city, thus concentrating status and privilege in the urban centers. This phenomenon had a great deal to do with Mexico's loss, under the centrist Santa Ana, of half of its national territory to the United States. It is useful in understanding the origins of the United States Hispanic Southwest to realize that Santa Ana and his followers regarded the far north as irrelevant to the national interest from both economic and demographic perspectives. Their priorities lay with the urban heartland and the agricultural, ranching, and mining resources of the greater Central Valley.

Thus the poles of centrism and federalism were related to other themes of national life in nineteenth century Latin America. Under the centrist mode, the emphasis was on economic development and creation of a commercial infrastructure (communication and transportation) in the already dominant urban areas and in those areas suitable for large-scale, capital-intensive and labor-intensive agricultural production. Under the federalist mode, the emphasis was on the extension of political and social participation to broader sectors of society. Yet centrism and federalism ironically coincided in their commitment to the positivist agenda of progress via economic growth and applied science. If anything, both models in reality created new opportunities for the criollo establishment to dominate national life. The rural and urban poor, largely of mestizo and Indian origin, found themselves economically and

socially more marginalized under both modern systems than they had been in the closing years of the colonial period.

CAUDILLAJE, CACIQUISMO, DICTATORS, AND THE ARMY

The nineteenth-century Independence Movement freed the criollos to assume the leadership vacuum left by the Spanish Crown. Simón Bolívar, San Martín, and Francisco de Miranda exemplify this pattern. Only in Mexico was there substantial mestizo involvement (best symbolized by Miguel Hidalgo and José María Morelos) in the passing of colonial political authority to native-born Americans. Although new constitutions in the new nations generally followed French and United States models, the political traditions of Latin America were not democratic; they were personalistic and authoritarian, with a strong military infrastructure that often became one and the same with the authoritarian political system. The long-lived regimes of dictators Juan Manuel de Rosas of Argentina and Porfirio Díaz of Mexico exemplified this tradition. It is easy to find the roots of this system in the structure of the older colonial system. In that system, the military was at the disposal of the political authorities to safeguard its power.

The tradition of authoritarian, personalistic rule allied with the military, known as caudillaje, was based on the charismatic leadership qualities of one individual, the *caudillo*. The support from the army was usually obtained through reciprocal favors. The compliance of the army in supporting personalistic, authoritarian rulers and dictators was encouraged by the opportunities for social and economic mobility for mestizos that were available in the military. This was a singularly successful way—often the only way—for ambitious mestizos to penetrate the relatively impermeable social networks of the criollo aristocracy. The criollos needed the army to guarantee their own positions of economic and political power. The cost to the criollos was allowing the mestizo officers to marry into their families and to include them in the maintenance of criollo power. Often it was the case that mestizo officers effectively tended the criollos' interests in the provinces while the criollos themselves, who preferred urban life, lived in the cities and occasionally visited their country estates. Sometimes the mestizo army officers became national leaders and, with their military affiliations, were able to take power and remain in power. This pattern crossed the federalist/centrist dichotomy in a way that allowed mestizos to reach positions of national authority under both centrist and liberal federalist rubrics.

The local expression of caudillaje was caciquismo, a small-scale version of the nondemocratic authoritarian, personalistic rule at the local level, often in villages or sparsely populated rural areas.

POSITIVISM AND LIBERALISM

The intellectual universe of the Independence Movement and subsequent national experience was in large part French positivism. It was a world view and policy template that emphasized inevitable progress and modernization through applied science and reason. Following closely the ideals of social Darwinism and general social evolution, the models to be emulated were European. These ideals, as interpreted in Latin America, were to be reached through economic development of their backward regions. Thus, capitalist development, with relatively few regulatory constraints, became the policy focus of most nineteenth century Latin American governments. Whatever brought economic growth, urban development, increased production for export markets, and "civilization" was good. This meant that education and expanded social inclusion for skilled technicians and bureaucrats were desirable, but not so much so as to keep "progress" from favoring the privileges of the criollo society.

CIENTIFICOS

The ideology of positivism created the new professional ideal of engineering (applied science). Applied scientists and technicians were essential for the creation of the commercial infrastructure that would make economic progress possible. Architects, agronomists, electrical engineers, railroad technicians, and road engineers became respectable and their professions prestigious. The criollo aristocrats' preference for gentleman farming and ranching, army careers, and the priesthood was amplified to include, as a sideline, the applied sciences. Even today, few titles before one's name are more honorable or likely to impress than *Ingeniero*.

While numbers of the new elite sector of científicos came from criollo and ambitious mestizo stock within Latin America, many tens of thousands of científicos were imported from Western Europe and the United States. Many of these professional newcomers become citizens of their adopted nations; they, too, with the high-ranking army officers of mestizo background, were admitted to the criollo economic, political, and social networks.

THE NEW IMMIGRATION

Along with the científicos who immigrated to Latin America in the nineteenth century to build the railroads, dock facilities, food processing plants, and telegraph systems came vast waves—millions—of other European immigrants to find land and opportunity in Latin

America's new export industries. The Southern Cone (Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and Chile) in particular became the destination of hundreds of thousands of Germans, English, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Asians came too, notably Chinese and Indians, to work in railroad and telegraph construction. Thousands of Japanese immigrated to southern Brazil, where they became successful farmers. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was not uncommon to find vast coffee plantations in Brazil and Central America that were totally in the hands of new European immigrants.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND CAPITALISM

On the wave of positivism and with the economic development that accompanied the expansion of agricultural export markets came a huge flow of foreign capital to Latin America. Frequently the production units themselves (cattle ranches, banana and coffee plantations) as well as the processing and shipping facilities, were completely controlled by foreigners. Governments, whether centrist or federalist, conservative or liberal, tended to look benignly on this phenomenon. Why? Because foreign control seemed a small price to pay for the economic transformation and commercial infrastructure (railroads, power plants, and telegraph systems) that would bring progress. The irony, of course, is the one that haunts Latin America to this day: it was development that mobilized a continent to provide raw materials, fiber, food, and minerals to supply industrial Europe and the United States without creating the capacity for self-sufficiency in the production of industrial goods and technical skills on which they had become dependent. Enter the Marxist dependency theory, which in the twentieth century has subsumed positivism as the prevailing ideology of the continent.

URBANIZATION

The ideology of liberalism and positivism that encouraged social Darwinism in the name of social progress and economic growth displaced millions of the rural poor, Indians and mestizos. Their traditional land base eroded, facilitated by government policies that encouraged privatization of communal property and easy alienation of it for cash. The frenzy for development of production for export led to government policies that facilitated encroachment on and outright appropriation of small landholdings of Indian and mestizo peasants. Land that had hitherto been deemed marginal suddenly became prime land for coffee, henequén, banana, and beef production for the export market to the United States and Europe. Once the rural poor saw themselves without a source of subsistence, millions of them became attached to large cattle ranches and commercial agricultural operations in what was essentially debt slavery. Their labor was never sufficient to pay their debts for housing, food, and emergency cash needs. The company store became the agent of bondage.

The other choice available to the displaced rural people was migration to the cities, either directly from their eroded communities or indirectly via the haciendas and plantations from which they had fled to the anonymity of the cities. The cities, indeed, had been the main beneficiaries of the economic "progress" that was created by the priorities of liberalism and positivism. In and around the cities was to be found a real (and sometimes fictional) source of employment in the manual labor sector. Thus, the fruit of positivism and liberalism was none other than the creation of a homeless rural and urban proletariat. Migrants poured into the major cities, for there was little economic opportunity elsewhere, short of returning to the plantations and haciendas from which they had fled.

Without recourse to the channels of grievance that, however convoluted, had been available to them in the colonial period, the rural poor in nineteenth century Latin America reached what is surely their most tragic moment since the sixteenth century. The class system had admitted a few carefully edited newcomers to the elite sectors, while the growth of the middle class progressed slowly in the urban centers. The rural and urban poor were the overwhelming majority.

It is in this period that Latin American cities took on their current mosaic of elite cores and suburbs, with interlaced working class and slum barrios. It is also in this period that the new transportation networks opened up the United States as a destination for the displaced rural and urban poor. By the close of the nineteenth century, the southeastern and southwestern commercial agricultural sectors of the United States economy were providing a source of employment for migrant laborers; the railroads provided access to these jobs. This economic climate brought the early wave of Mexican agricultural laborers to what would become the United States Sun Belt.

NATIVISTIC MOVEMENTS

While the world economy appropriated Latin America (or rewarded it, depending on one's viewpoint) as a producer of food and supplier of raw materials, there remained in Latin America the shadowy visage of the Fourth World—its very considerable Indian population. These people remained in atrophied communities after the policies of liberalism had stripped them of their communal holdings and had forced many of their numbers into the national labor market.

A native response was inevitable, as native communi-

ties were, at the national level, in the florescence of regionalism and romanticism in literature. Without access to the written word—for most Indian communities, numbering in the many millions of people even in the nineteenth century, were without a written voice in history—these communities took advantage of their awareness of national events to find openings, usually in periods of federalism, to mount massive and vigorous expressions of Indian identity and protest before the altar of positivism.

From Peru to Mexico, the nineteenth century saw articulate movements of acute and violent social criticism and political activism associated with the cause of Indian autonomy and identity. Some of these movements, such as the so-called Caste Wars of 1848 in Yucatan, Mexico, created national panic as Indian communities—which clearly comprised the majority population in their respective regions—mobilized pre-Columbian symbols and strategies to assert their identity as sovereign people in their oppressed local contexts. Certain movements, such as the so-called Cuxcat Rebellion of Highland Chiapas, Mexico, laid siege to the regional mestizo community in the name of an Indian Christ, whom they crucified on Good Friday, 1869, claiming that only an Indian Christ was worthy of their homage and respect. The national Catholic establishment was irrelevant to them, as was the political authority of Mexico.

Although this movement, like others in Peru and Brazil, was effectively suppressed by state military mobilization, it expressed in poignant terms the fact that Latin America had a hidden minority—the Indian communities—who did not participate in any way in national economic and political life. Furthermore, the Indians knew it and, in an odd way, celebrated it. This way of thinking marked the other side of the marginal coin. Some of the rural proletariat moved out and immigrated to the cities. The Indian communities, however, stood fast and shouted that they did not participate, and did not want to participate, in national life.

BRAZIL CONSIDERED BRIEFLY

In this conclusion, I acknowledge my exclusion of Brazil up to this point. In some ways, Brazil is an exception to everything I have sketched. At the same time, it is at one with the generalizations. The exception, of course, is Brazil's totally nonviolent separation from European colonial association. The Portuguese Empire, in fact, moved to Brazil in 1808, following Napoleon's invasion of Iberia. From 1824 to 1889, Brazil was ruled by a relatively enlightened constitutional monarchy. It eased into modern statehood with hardly a sigh in 1891.

Yet Brazil also exemplifies many of the same traits that have been presented for Hispanic Latin America. Most notable of these is its profound commitment to positivism and economic growth. The difference between the Brazilian and Hispanic American cases is Brazil's singular Afro-American heritage, a legacy of slavery that makes its social history unlike that of the rest of Latin America.

Brazil's history of boom-and-bust economic activity is surely parallel to Hispanic Latin America's ambiguous role as purveyor of raw materials, minerals, and food to Europe and the United States. The nineteenth century saw various economic booms—notably in rubber and chicle in the Amazon Basin—that were comparable to those of the Central American tropics. On other fronts, Brazil's history, particularly in the south, resembles that of the Southern Cone of South America and Central America in terms of commercial developments and immigration patterns.

With this apology for inadequate commentary on Brazil, I wish to close, reminding the reader that the great historical response to all that I have outlined here is the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1917. That event is, in itself, a synthesis and epilogue to this position paper.

Portugal

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INTRODUCTION

The following text constitutes my first contribution to the Curriculum Project on Ibero-American Heritage in the United States.

The text is divided into three parts of varying importance: Portugal and the European Expansion, Colonization and the Empire, The Case of Brazil, and Contemporary Portugal and the United States. This last part contains a small anthology of texts and a short bibliography.

Some curriculum suggestions are proposed at the end of the first two parts. These proposals are offered as illustrations of the theoretical ideas advanced in the text.

Two points must be clearly emphasized:

(1) This is a provisionary document with a loose structure. First it attempts to explore various concerns in order to identify those which seem most appropriate for the project, and then to examine these in a more systematic manner.

(2) Furthermore, it should be recognized that this is not an original document based on original research but rather a synthesis of some of the most important works that have been done in this area.

I hope to have responded appropriately to the request I received for a short text which points out important aspects of the Portuguese experience.

PORTUGAL AND THE EUROPEAN EXPANSION (FIFTEENTH - SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)

From the outset, it is important to remember the question which was raised by Frenand Braudel about Portuguese navigation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "How could a country as small as Portugal have played such an important role? In truth, Portugal launched the European expansion which would *revolutionize the world*."

After the 1420s, Portugal's role in the European expansion was indeed phenomenal. Its participation was unusual in both chronological and spacial terms. Portugal was the first European country to expand its political, economic, social, and cultural frontiers beyond the continent. It was also the only country at the time which formed a solid relationship with every continent.

In the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, Portugal considered itself the "messenger of the world." It made contacts and established relationships between Europe, Africa, Asia, America, and Oceania (Luís Filipe Barreto, 1988).

A Portuguese poem from the beginning of the sixteenth century reads:

"As novas coisas presentes	"New things, now present
São a nós tão evidentes	For us are so clear
Como nunca outras gentes	For never another people
Jamais viram mundo tal.	Ever saw the world thus.
E já tudo descoberto	Now all is discovered
O mui longe nos é perto	For us, distant things are near
Os vindouros têm já certo	The newcomers hold already
o tesouro terreal."	the earth's treasure."

All was not yet discovered. However, the voyages undertaken by the Portuguese permitted the apprehension of the "earth's treasures" and the perception that the distances still to be covered far exceeded their expectations. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the most complete spacial notion of the earth was held by the Islamic civilization. Their vision, however, only encompassed one quarter of the planet. By the middle of the sixteenth century, perception of the world was nearly complete and in the hands of Christian Europe. A cycle in the history of humanity had come to a close (Luís de Albuquerque, 1985).

W.G. Randles affirms that the voyages of Diogo Cão and of Bartholomeu Dias were very important in the world's geographic and cosmological conceptions. They represented a definitive step in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age. Because of the discoveries, a whole series of dominant conceptions of the world were to be abandoned forever. Most important, the navigations caused a feeling of spacial vertigo. Men had

started to feel as if they dominated space, and suddenly, space hitherto familiar was progressively overwhelmed by the unknown.

The challenge then became redefining man in space and creating the references and instruments required for measurement and navigation. The greatest difficulties lay not in making the discoveries but in returning from foreign lands and in being able to set out again when and as desired.

The measurement and configuration of space implied the measurement and configuration of time. This was a more arduous and complicated task. Preoccupation with time was related to and manifested by the duration of voyages, the time frames set for deeds, and financial transactions. After the Discoveries, the map of the world was drawn in distances; expressed in terms of the time taken to reach a given point.

At the same time, numbers became indispensable. A quantitative mentality progressively impregnated mercantile circles, public administration, and scientific and technical thinking.

In conclusion, the Portuguese made a decisive contribution to the transition from symbolism and vagueness to descriptive precision and practical use of the world of quality within the framework of a new technico-mercantile mentality. (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 1978).

The Portuguese expansion forced men to look at the world differently. What motivated such a tiny country with a population of one million, situated on the outskirts of Europe, to lead this "maritime adventure?" An attempt to understand these motives is perhaps the *first* contribution that the Portuguese experience can make to the development of this curriculum project.

And thus the sea, the earth, and man were discovered. For better or worse the Portuguese voyages permitted the meeting of various worlds and of various cultures. Unfortunately, in many cases it was for the worse.

A new set of values arose defining various shades of Humanism, yet all drew upon the idea of progress and the idea and drive of modernity.

Humanism always includes a certain denial of transcendence: man creates his own values and his own models for life. The gods were definitely replaced by man's new mission.

The exchange of knowledge provoked by the meeting of different peoples brought contacts and conflicts which were often violent. But in retrospect, history must acknowledge the importance of the recognition of the diversity of man and above all of the construction of the idea of the "unity of man."

The dizzying expansion of geographic space and the relationships established with such different peoples (so different that at first contact it was doubted whether these peoples were human beings) eventually brought about a new definition of man. In this definition the unity of the human species triumphed over the apparent but not essential differences among societies. This observation roused an interest in "the other" and a subsequent reconception of the human being in a newly invented space (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 1978).

The Portuguese, more than any other people, can serve as live testimony to the peoples and cultures which were found. They left record of a true social mosaic, made of differing ways of living and dying. The descriptions, the reports, and drawings made by the Portuguese navigators during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constitute an irreplaceable archives for the knowledge of the "pre-contact period" and for the understanding of the indigenous cultures at the moment of meeting and of confrontation!

The visualization of this multifaceted reality is certainly the *second Portuguese contribution to this curriculum project.*

Through abundant written and iconographic documentation, it is possible to determine the forms of thought and life of people on all of the continents.

When Fernão de Magalhães completed his circumnavigation of the globe, the world was within man's reach and man's conception of it was forever changed. Nothing would ever be as it had been.

Through the Portuguese experience we can try to answer a third question: what changed in Portugal and in Europe after the Cape of Good Hope was rounded and America was reached?

A response is impossible because everything changed; men, ideas, beliefs, daily life, economics, agriculture, flora, fauna, etc.

In 1516 Thomas Moore created a project for the ideal city. His utopia was based on accounts made by Raphael, a Portuguese navigator. There he speaks of a utopia, an island city reached by an imaginary voyage and based on the real, concrete, Portuguese navigations. Moore leaps from reality to a type of myth-project which is opposed to the myths of the past. From myths to utopias: the transition is made through a culture lured by the sea and through the practical actions of men.

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho correctly affirms that when the navigations vigorously launched the process of mercantilism, they also initiated a new type of experience which was led by reason. Reason, fundamentally commercial in nature, replaced both the myths which were substitutes for dreams and utopias which encouraged them. This experience which permitted knowledge of "the other" and of foreign societies lead to two new concepts: the concept of the human race as an adventure and of humanity as a pluralism of experiences within its unity as a race.

After myths came utopias which were due to the rising, destructive feeling of the difference between "myself" and "the other." This feeling was an inevitable result of the Discoveries. The concept of Humanity depended on two reciprocal points of view. On one side, the men of the expansion were pulled on by a movement which destroyed them as well as their nation. On the other side, the disintegration of indigenous societies was caused by contact with the outsiders (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 1983).

The principal role of utopian thinking is to show man that reality is not limited to what is immediately apparent and therefore it is necessary to explore all possibilities.

In sum, citing Luís Felipe Barreto, we could say that three great phenomenons resulted from the culture of the Discoveries:

(1) There was a worldwide information explosion about man and nature which made the Renaissance possible. For the first time in the history of man both a global image of the world and global communications were possible.

(2) There was an accelerated technical and scientific development in areas such as nautical astronomy, cartography, global magnetics, naval and military architecture, hydrography, botany, zoology, geography, anthropology, etc.

(3) Partly due to the new information available, knowledge inherited from classical antiquity and from the Middle Ages was subject to rational and systematic criticism. This knowledge could then be refused or accepted according to criteria which were based on observation, comparison, and reason. The more traditional criterion of authority was no longer the basis for judgement (Luís Filipe Barreto, 1989).

The third Portuguese contribution to the development of this curricular project lies precisely in the attempt at understanding the changes brought about by the voyages of Discovery. In a text suggestively entitled *The Context and Reasons for the Rise of Modern Science*, author Reyer Hooykaas does not hesitate to affirm that these voyages changed not only the world's geography and cartography but that they also changed natural history. In fact, they led to the reform of all the sciences because they influenced the method of all sciences. After the Discoveries, nature was no longer imagined according to the limitations of human reason: human reason was adapted to the new knowledge of nature (Reyer Hooykaas, 1986).

The discoveries and the expansion should be seen as a global process which questioned technology, economics, societies, civilizations, totalities as well as individuals, ways of feeling, thinking and acting, situational behavior, and the pulsations and ties of interdependencies.

Economics cannot be separated from these totalities. Any kind of sectorial history is only understandable as it relates to economics, politics, mentalities, social relationships, arts, and trades.

This is what we try to describe in part II which addresses certain aspects of Portuguese colonization. But before starting part II, it would be useful to give some examples of curriculum suggestions about the ideas which have been presented up to this point.

Portugal and the European Expansion (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries): Curricular Suggestions (Examples)

What follows is a series of curricular suggestions.[1] These are "ideas" for pedagogical materials which could be developed and produced in order to "illustrate" the preceding theoretical reflections.

Obviously, it would be possible to imagine many other proposals; these are only examples. A certain creativity is necessary for these concepts to be correctly learned.

Example 1. Outline the routes of the Portuguese navigators (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and of some of their principal voyages. The objective would be to clarify the role that the Portuguese played as European messengers to other continents.

Among others, the following trips would be important to point out:

(1) Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias on the African Coast
(2) Vasco De Gama—Maritime Route to India
(3) Gaspar Corte-Real, Pedro Alvares Cabral, and João Rodrigues Cabrilho on the American Coast
(4) Voyages Made toward Asia and Oceania
(5) Fernãndo Magalhães' and Elcanco's Circumnavigation of the Globe (1519 - 1522)

Example 2. The voyages made by the Portuguese to the coasts of North America should be referenced. The voyages made by Corte-Real, Estevão Gomes, and João Rodrigues Cabrilho should be emphasized.

Whenever possible, references to these trips should be made using the existing travel accounts.

Example 3. Organization of an anthology of texts taken from the ship's logs of some of the principal voyages.

[1] The author's presentation of this paper included maps for illustrative purposes.

The existence of numerous journals written during sea voyages permit the reconstruction of life aboard the Portuguese vessels. They also facilitate an understanding of the problems and difficulties which confronted the navigators on a daily basis. These problems ranged from questions of navigation and utilization of the most advanced nautical instruments to aspects of nutrition. They describe, as well, the living conditions, sicknesses, power struggles, and conflict.

Example 4. Organization of an anthology of texts which includes descriptions of the new territories and especially of the communities which were encountered.

There is abundant documentation, both written and iconographic, about Portuguese contacts made on the various continents. These represent an essential source of knowledge about different societies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

COLONIZATION AND THE EMPIRE (SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES): THE CASE OF BRAZIL

Vitorino Magalhães explains the way in which the crisis at the end of the sixteenth century led to the structural transformation of the Portuguese empire. Due to competition from other powers (Dutch, English, French) the quantity of spices unloaded in Lisbon dropped to a third of what it had been. In compensation, the Portuguese colonization of Brazil and Angola progressed. The basic instruments of economic imperialism were now composed of sugar, tobacco, and brazilwood fleets which connected the metropolis to the other side of the Atlantic and the slaving ships going from Luanda to the American coasts (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 1983).

Portugal was increasingly obliged to depend upon Brazil. This dependency became the fundamental element of its Empire. During almost two centuries, Brazil's history is marked by its desperate attempt to discover gold. The Portuguese could not accept the idea that their piece of the American world contained no precious metals. Driven by their desire, they mounted a series of explorations into the Brazilian hinterland that resulted in a totally renewed understanding of this territory.

This "second discovery of Brazil", as it is referred to by Oliveira Marques, was really an epic poem. It was filled with unknown heroes, martyrs, anonymous explorers, and characterized by sporadic massacres, by violence at times unusual, by the inevitable hatreds, intrigues, and rivalries among the Portuguese, by constant weaknesses and retreats, but it was also characterized by some very significant achievements.

There are four aspects of Brazil's colonization that deserve mention: (1) economic considerations, (2) miscegenation, (3) evangelization and indigenous communities, and (4) black slavery.

Economic Considerations

After several decades of unsuccessful search, the explorers finally discovered gold in Brazilian soil towards the end of the seventeenth century. Gold fever attracted thousands of people and this precious metal became the principal base of the Brazilian economy throughout the eighteenth century.

The gold remittances to Portugal actually began at the end of the seventeenth century when the mining industry reached a yearly average of about 15,000-20,000 kg/yr. From the middle of the eighteenth century onward, the quantity of gold sent to Portugal began to decrease. Even so, relatively high levels were maintained until the end of the century. To speak of the Brazilian colonization is really to speak, more than anything else, of gold mining.

The second pillar of the Brazilian economy was the production of sugar. For many years sugar production was even more important than the extraction of gold and diamonds. The colony's major economic activity was based on the cane crop and its natural derivative, sugar. Sugar production constituted an essential material base for the establishment of European settlers in the territory:

> The structure of sugar plantation production basically remained the same as in its initial phase, developing throughout the 16th century and consolidating in the 17th century. Based as it was on slave labor, the technical structure of the productive system hardly changed. The productive assemblage was distributed throughout the plantation. It consisted of the mill and the furnace or the "engenho"—which refers to the factory itself but which was generally used to refer to the entire property (Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 1986).

Both mining and sugar production required an abundant and cheap source of labor. It is not surprising, therefore, that the importation of African slaves reached incredible figures. The yearly average of 7,500 in the 1660s doubled or even tripled by the end of the eighteenth century (A.H. Oliveira Marques, 1972). The slave trade constituted the third economic pillar of the Brazilian economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is evident that a series of other products and commercial practices could be mentioned like cotton, rice, tobacco, coffee, etc. However, it is possible to depict the fundamental aspects of Brazil's colonial economy with the examples of gold, sugar and slaves.

Miscegenation

One of the principal characteristics of Portuguese colonization in Brazil was miscegenation. The scarcity of white women, the living conditions in which the colonists found the Indians, and the surge of slavery provoked a growing miscegenation unparalleled in other parts of the Portuguese Empire (A.H. Oliveira Marques, 1972).

The cross between whites and blacks resulted in the *mulatto*, which soon comprised the majority of the Brazilian population. The cross between whites and Indians resulted in the *mameluke*. Obviously intermarriage did not prove that racial prejudice was nonexistent in Portuguese colonies. On the contrary, it was quite explicit in the hierarchical functions and in the rigid social structure. It arose rather as a response to the necessities of nature created by living conditions in the Portuguese colonies.

The practice of miscegenation did, in fact, render racial discrimination more difficult. One example is the use of the word *pardo* on the population lists. Pardo was broadly defined to include mulatto, mameluke and *cafuzo* (cross between Indian and black). All foreigners who visited Brazil at the end of the colonial period unanimously agreed that the colored population had experienced a whitening process. Many individuals of mixed backgrounds rid themselves of the "color defect," thereby occupying military, civil, and ecclesiastic positions, which according to law could only be filled by whites (Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, 1986).

Comprehension of miscegenation and its consequences is essential for a clear understanding of the specific nature of Portuguese colonization in Brazil.

Evangelization and Indian Communities

The Jesuit evangelization of Indian communities constituted another fundamental episode of Portuguese colonization. The Christian missionaries found in the Amerindian an apparent receptiveness to their evangelical propositions. However, the process of organizing the villages and the reduction centers (groups of villages) was not always as peaceful as is believed.

The optimistic tone had been set by Pêro Vaz de Caminha:

> And according to the impression that I and everyone else had, this people only needed to understand us in order to become Christian for they partook in that which we came to do as if they were Christians. Therefore, it appeared to everyone that here there was neither idolatry nor false worship.

History would come to show that things were not so simple. As early as 1563, Father José de Anchieta wrote to the Head of the Company of Jesus referring to the Indians in the following manner: "for this type of people there is nothing better than to preach with the sword and the iron rod." Two centuries later, Jesuit Manuel Uriarte continued along the same lines: "these barbarians do not listen to the priest's voices without first hearing the sound of gun powder."

These citations demystify the reputation which the Jesuits had earned as defenders of the Indians. They leave no doubt as to the violence that this evangelization inevitably assumed. Life in the villages and the confrontation between two distinct cultures—missionary and Indian—and the resulting imposition of new social models is another aspect of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries which is important to highlight.

On many counts, Pêro Vaz de Caminha, along with so many other Portuguese, were wrong in their predictions.

Black Slavery

Finally, it is impossible to write about this historical period without giving due mention to the question of black slavery, a phenomenon that reached particularly important dimensions in Brazil. The development of sugar production was the main reason for the importation of slaves originating from the African region.

As a matter of fact, the number of slaves was high since each sugar plantation imported at least 80 and, in less than a century, the number of sugar plantations increased tenfold.

The incredible conditions faced by black slaves in transit and in their life on the sugar plantation can both be illustrated using the substantial literature produced by Brazilian authors. It is a shameful facet of this period, but no less significant.

It is equally important to evoke and examine the period leading to the emancipation of slaves. This should depict the strengths and struggles of individual and collective strategies which achieved a more dignified way of life and existence.

In summary, as Silas de Oliveira states, there are three realities which the whole colonial experience tended to impose: a new model for local resource exploitation, which is considered superior by the conqueror; a new model for explaining reality, without which the conquerors' life would been lived backwards and in the dark; and a new political-military order to guarantee the other two.

A final reference to this colonization process ought to start with the first nationalist rebellions and, above all, on the specific nature of dynamics which led to Brazilian national independence.

Also, one should not forget that the Portuguese court was transferred to Brazil in the early nineteenth century.

Brazil's subsequent transformation into the center of the Luso-Brazilian Empire would come to have enormous repercussions on its process of independence which was finally proclaimed in 1822.

A new nation was formed. A new country was born. With a slight spilling of blood, (only a few battles in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro) the largest nation in South America had achieved its sovereignty. Thus began a new era for Portugal as well.

Colonization and the Empire (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries): The Case of Brazil: Curricular Suggestions (Examples)

As in part one, we are going to put forth brief curricular recommendations. Again, these are examples for materials/proposals which could be introduced within the scope of the curriculum project.

> ***Example 1.*** Examine the history of colonization by tracing the transfer of plants to several continents via the Portuguese voyages that covered several continents. Factors such as vegetation, living conditions, and agricultural production should be studied.
>
> ***Example 2.*** This example is identical to the previous one except that the history of colonization would be traced through the animal cargos and all the transformations which they wrought.
>
> ***Example 3.*** Reconstruct the daily life of a Brazilian sugar plantation by creating profiles of the diverse social characters present at the time (refer to the document submitted by Yara Vieira).
>
> ***Example 4.*** Capture the African presence in the United States by analyzing the words and expressions that the Africans introduced into the English language and which have become part of colloquial speech.

CONTEMPORARY PORTUGAL AND THE UNITED STATES

A third point, which is not possible to fully address within the confines of this text, concerns itself with the Portuguese communities in the United States.

There are two major factors which stand out in a quick review of this subject: (1) the impoverishment of Portugal, and (2) migratory trends.

The Impoverishment of Portugal

In the previous historical overview, one must ask why it is that the Portuguese are poor. Portugal created overseas economies and dependent societies—peripheries—that threw off balance the social composition of the country. This resulted in a hypertrophy of nobility, ecclesiastics (who extended their economic grip to include private property), and commercial groups, while the peasantry shrunk and became incapable of supporting an extremely top-heavy society.

This state of affairs began when profits obtained in international trade were invested in the periphery and not in the center (metropolis). This lack of investment in the center brought about the regression, or, in the very least, a self-imposed stagnation. Portugal's impoverishment and decadence, which began in the late sixteenth century, are the flip side of colonial expansion.

The ideas introduced above are defended by the historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, who ends his monumental book, *The Discoveries and the World Economy*, with the following reflection:

> The web of routes across the globe, which became very uniform, maintained basic structural disparities. In reality, the capitalism that was to triumph over the modern age is a direct consequence of the advantage taken from the disparate conditions owing to the state of dominance (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 1983).

Migratory Trends

Throughout the last two centuries, migration constituted one of the Portuguese mechanisms by which to confront individual and collective impoverishment.

As a matter of fact, beginning in the late 1800s Brazil comes to be one of the countries chosen by the Portuguese emigrants for relocation.

Around the middle of the twentieth century, this choice was altered and countries like the United States and Canada or France and Germany became poles of major attraction for the Portuguese emigrants.

For this reason, a good way to conclude this curriculum project on the Portuguese contribution would be to present a sociological study focused on the Luso-American communities encountered in the United States today.

According to the record, there are approximately 300,000 Portuguese workers in the United States out of a Portuguese community estimated at one million inhabitants. This reality merits inclusion in the scope of this project, and at the very least it should be pointed out.

Anthology of Texts: Some Examples[1]

Journal Of Vasco Da Gama's Voyage In Discovery Of The Maritime Passage To India

"...In the year of grace, 1497, El-Rei D. Manuel, the first of that name in Portugal, commanded four ships on a voyage of discovery, to bring spices....

"...We first arrived in sight of Canaries on the following Saturday and spent the night in the lee of Lançrote. By dawn the following night we had come to Terra Alta where we spent two hours in catching fish; and at nightfall we passed the Rio do Ouro....

"...On the Sunday which is the day of St. John the Baptist, that is the twenty-fourth of the month of June, the merchandise came to Calicut. And since the said merchandise was there, the captain ordered us all to Calicut...."

Journal Of Voyage To Brazil

" In the year of grace 1530...the people of this land are all fair-skinned, the men wellbuilt and the women so very beautiful that they need not envy those of the Rua Nova in Lisbon. For arms they have only bows and arrows, and every two leagues you find them at war with each other. We saw two groups of fifty canoes fighting each other in the middle of the river that flows into the bay, each canoe, protected like our vessels with painted pavisades, bore sixty men, who fought each other from midday until the sun set."

Africa: Diogo Gomes (1499 ?)

"...and in that field we saw than five thousand *miongas*, as the negroes say in their tongue, which are animals slightly larger than deer, that were not affrighted by our presence. And then we saw five elephants, three adults and two youngs, emerge from a small forested river fleeing from the above mentioned animals. And we found the hiding places of many crocodiles on the beach and we returned to our ships. The following day we set forth for Cape Verde. And we saw the mouth of a river, three leagues wide, into which we entered, and by its size we took to be the River Gambia which indeed it was...."

Africa: Duarte Lopes (1591)

"...The ancients all believed that the dark colour of the men is caused by the heat of the sun because experience shows us that the closer we come to the hot lands of midday so the darker are the men and, contrarily, as we move north they are successively more fair, as: the French, the Germans, the English and others. Notwithstanding this it is certains that there are men born almost white below the equinoctial circle as in the Kingdoms of Melinde and of Mombassa below the equator and on the island of S. Tomé which as a similar climate...and as the sons of Portuguese who are born of Congo women are more of a fairish complexion and Senhor Duarte formed opinion about this that the dark colour was not born of the sun but of the nature of the seed...."

Asia: Frei Gaspar Da Cruz (1570)

"...any person or persons who arrives at the house of a gentleman is customarily offered an elegant tray bearing a porcelain cup, one for each guest, filled with a warm water whlch they call tea which is somewhat red and very medicinal, which it is their custom to drink, and which is made from boiling leaves and tastes somewhat bitter. With this it is their custom to comfort all kinds of people from whom they have respect whether they are known to them or strangers and I have often been so welcomed. Chinamen are great eaters and consume many delicacies....They are a clean and noble people and are very civilised in their behaviour, conversation and costume...."

Asia: Anonymous (1548)

"...These people eat three times a day and little at a time...they eat on the floor like Moors and with sticks like Chinamen. Each persons eats out of his painted porringer, his porcelaine dish or his painted wooden bowl, black on the outside and red on the inside, where they put their food. In the summer they drink warm barley-water and in the winter water flavoured with some herbs which I was not able to identify...."

America: Pêro Vaz De Cahinha (1500)

"...Their features are dark and redish, with fine, well-made faces and noses. They walk about naked without any clothing. They make no effort to conceal their shame and display as much innocence in this as in their willingness to show their faces to us. They pierce their lower lips and wear real white bones in them....

"Three or four maids were walking there, quite young and delicate, with very black hair down to their shoulders, and the region of their shame is so high, so closed

[1] Examples transcribed from the work of Barreto, Luís Filipe, *Portugal: pioneiro do dialogo Norte/Sul*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1988.

and so free of hair that we felt no shame in staring at them....Not even Adams was as innocent as these people in respect of shame...."

America: Pe Magalães Gandavo (1567)

"...these Indians are dark and have straight hair. They have flat faces and some of their features are like those of Chinamen. They are generally well favoured, stout and strongly built....

"They speak the same language along the entire coast, although there are some words which differ from place to place, yet they are not so different as to prevent them from understanding each other....

"These Indians leave in villages. Each village has seven or eight houses which are very long, shaped like rope-houses or milking-sheds and built exclusively of wood and covered with palm-leaves or other similar wild foliage."

America: Gabriel Soares De Sousa (1587)

"...There are large white long potatoes like those of the islands, and others small and round like a tuberous root and these are quite delicious; there are other potatoes whose skin is purple and which are white inside, and there are others which are all red and full of flavour....

"In the soft water lakes and rivers lives a sort of lagarto which the Indians call *jacaré*, some of which are the size of a man and they have a head like a large harrier; these lagartos are entirely covered by very hard shells...."

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The Chilean in California

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INTRODUCTION

During the existence of independent Chile, there has never been a considerable migratory movement to the United States. Several factors explain this fact. On one hand, enormous distances existed in the past between the countries, and while one faces the Atlantic Ocean, the other faces the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand, the economic structures in Chile did not permit the Chilean to pay attention to the United States. Furthermore, the Chilean nation demanded capital and labor to restore the country, and the Chileans dedicated themselves to the development of the nation.

The only significant migratory movement to the United States of America took place in the middle of the nineteenth century to California. The participation of Chilean workers in the exploitation of the gold mines in California was very important, and the migratory movement was spontaneous.

During the last century, Chile was the only country that practically possessed the satisfactory conditions to help California's gold seekers because of the Chilean economic structure. Along with the merchandise, men travelled too.

It is estimated that about 20,000 to 30,000 Chileans went north in search of fabulous and fast wealth. Some died there; many returned; others, the least, continued living on the banks of the Sacramento river.

The document presented here shows how, in a period of five years, this small and distant Latin American country helped the state of California. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Chileans helped California with labor, benefits, financial assistance, newspapers, hospitals, cities, businesses, schools, roads, and even famous bandits.

CHILE AND THE "GOLDEN RUSH"

Antecedents

The presence of Spain in California can be traced since 1533, when soldiers from Hernán Cortés' expedition arrived in California. In 1539, Fernando de Ulloa explored the territory, writing a report on its coasts and seaports. In 1602 the Spanish Crown took possession of the territory, and in 1642, the Jesuits began the evangelization of the Indians.

The territory of Alta California, with an area of over 500,000 square kilometers, was very far from the Viceroyship of Mexico as well as from the Atlantic coasts where the English colonies where located. In 1790, the population was about 7,148 and by 1801 it was 13,668. In 1846, the population was 25,000, of which 20 percent were of Hispanic origin, and the rest were Indians. In August 1838, John Sutter, a Swiss citizen, settled between where the actual city of Sacramento is located today, and the Americano river. Sutter was an old captain of the Swiss Sixth Regiment under Charles X of France. After the triumph of Louis Philip of Orleans in France, the Swiss soldiers were discharged and Sutter returned to his country. Later he crossed the Atlantic Ocean and lived in Jackson County (Missouri), and later he continued to the West.

Once in California he was granted a territorial property by the Mexican government. His immediate neighbors were Russians who also had authorization from Mexico to possess land in the territory.

In February 1848, Mexico and the United States signed the Treaty of Guadlupe-Hidalgo and California, and California became part of the United States of America.

During this time, John Sutter built a sawmill to saw and polish wood where the Americano River and the Sacramento River meet. While a laborer, J. James Marshal, was working, he found the first gold nuggets. The gold rush was started.

Chile, Its Economy, and the "Golden Rush"

In the nineteenth century, Valparaíso was the main seaport of Chile and the Pacific Ocean. On August 19, 1848, among the many ships that landed in this seaport was the *J.R.S.*, coming back from Yerba Buena (old village

where San Francisco is today) with leather and sebum.

Alfredo Andrews, captain of the ship, told about the discovery of gold in California, showing a bag full of gold dust. He told how the rivers drag down the precious metal, and that the inhabitants of Yerba Buena had left their city to go for gold. Also, captains of ships had to control their crews by force, so they did not abandon the ship to stay working as miners.

The news of gold impressed Chilean men who saw the possibility of easy riches, while the events in California presented the national economy with a new gate for commerce.

Chile is and always has been a mining country, so Chilean experience gave them advantages over other miners.

Chile's economic development was good since 1830, and the merchant marine had about 100 ships that navagated all the Pacific Ocean coasts. Consequently, sailing to the Californian territory was not a major problem for them (it was 6,700 miles and took them 60 days).

Valparaíso's seaport served as a free storage place for all the ships coming from Cape Horn and the Strait of Magellan.

Chilean agriculture was stifled for there were no markets for their products. But as Chile was the only country capable of supplying the Californian market, there was an increase in the production of wheat, oats, flour, sebum, beef jerky, leather, ropes, fats, wines, and aguardientes.

On the other hand, it is important to recognize that California, was 19,300 miles (then three to four months by sea) from the East of the United States. The trip had to be made around Cape Horn or through the Strait of Magellan, and then they had to fight the waters of the southern Sea of Chile, reach land in Valparaíso, and then continue north to California.

If the gold seekers from the East Coast of the United States wanted to make the land trip to California, they had to cross over 800 leagues with no railroads, unknown landscapes, climates, and rivers, and be ready to fight the Indians.

On September 12, 1848, 23 days after the news brought by Captain Andrews, a Chilean ship sailed from Valparaíso to California: the frigate *Virginia* chartered by José Weddington, one of the richest men in Valparaíso. It carried miscellaneous merchandise and 45 passengers. Among them were whole families: fathers, sons, and servants.[1]

Before the end of 1848, 13 Chilean ships followed the vessel *Virginia*.[2]

The opening of Californian markets is evident if you observe the value of Chilean exports to California since 1848.

Value of Chilean exports in the indicated years (Change from 46 3/16 English penny for peso).

1848	$ 250,195.
1849	$ 1,853,460.
1850	$ 2,445,868.
1851	$ 2,067,603.
1852	$ 2,203,729.
1853	$ 1,674,367.
1854	$ 705,470.
1855	$ 275,763.
1856	$ 210,895.
1857	$ 137,955.
1858	$ 178,484.
1859	$ 102,735.
1860	$ 70,953.

Sources: Martner, Daniel: *Historia económica de Chile;* Lindsay, Santiago: *Anuario Estadístico.*

The value of the commercial relations between Chile and the Western Coast of the United States reached its height between 1849 and 1853, which confirms what was said: Chile was one of the few countries that could supply, relatively fast, the new Californian market. Nevertheless, as can be observed in the table, since 1854 trade levels dropped due to the rapid increase in the productivity in California, as well as in all North America, which could supply the internal demand. This new production was such a success that in those years California could send flour to be sold in Valparaíso at a lower price than the flour produced in Chile.

In 1848 several Foreign Commercial Houses had main offices in Valparaíso, and maintained branches in San Francisco. These were the French Fanche Hnos. and De Boom, Vigneaux et Grisae, the North American Mickle and Co., and the German Loeser, Mack and Adelsdorfer.[3]

Chileans in California

In 1850, the population in California was about 200,000 of which between 20,000 and 30,000 were Chilean.

The Chilean who went to California came from all

[1] These families were those of Carlos Armstrong, Tomás O'Neill, Juan Ellis, and Eurique Poett. All these men were engaged in businesses.

[2] The ships were: *Undine, Mercedes, Dolores, Rosa, Minerva, Thilt, Ana McKinn, Correo del Pacifico, Tacla, Chile, Confederacion, Julia,* and *Staouely.*

[3] See data by English Consuls in Foreign Office 16/70 RR0449. f. 298,300 and 302. Data by the consul Rousse 1849.

social levels: young leaders from the government, employees of the growing middle class, men who quit their jobs in the copper mines or in agriculture. Of course, some liberal women also ran after the new golden fleece. As Bunster pointed out, we know the names of some of the "ladies": Rosa León, Remigira Gallardo, Peta Guerrero, Margarita Fernández.

When they arrived at the golden gate, Chileans found a city consisting of some houses and the rest were tents. Some Chileans remained there, but the majority left for the auriferous placers, 20 leagues inland.

It was characteristic of the Chileans who left their country to name their small villages "Chilecito" or "Chile Chico." In San Francisco the "Chilecito" was located by the Telegraph Hill.

The Chilean Felipe Fierro founded *El Eco*, one of the first newspapers that circulated in California, and the Pérez brothers administered the first "Restaurant de los Cuidadanos," which served the people of San Francisco.

The first high gunwall boat that arrived in Sacramento was *Natalia*, financed by the brothers Leandro and Manuel Luco. These Chileans founded the first charity hospital in Sacramento.

José Manuel Ramírez, a Chilean, founded the city of Marysville, and Buenaventura Sánchez founded Washington City. This last one was located nine miles north of Sacramento. Their streets have names of heroes and famous people from the history of Chile.

When the gold fever ended, many Chileans remained in the United States or in México. Some fought with the Union or Confederacy in the Civil War. Others fought under the flag of Benito Juárez against the French Maximiliano. Others engaged in various activities, mines, and industries. Many failed, but many others succeeded. Among the latter, Miguel Osorio Azócar (died in 1890) left his family a fortune estimated at two million dollars. Juan Bautista Reyes (died in 1897), a naturalized United States citizen, left 15 children whose mother was a North American lady, and left a fortune of 10 million dollars. His oldest son, Charles Reyes Harriet, was the first shareholder of West New Mexico and Arizona Railways. Alejo Barraza Méndez, (died in 1895), left his brothers 2,000 million Chilean pesos.

The *Galgos* and Joaquín Morieta

San Francisco and the auriferous placers were violent territories. Between 1849 and 1850, about 1,000 Chileans were killed. Among them were Valentín Sanfuentes, Manuel Höevel, and José Izquierdo, young Chileans who belonged to prominent families, socially and economically.

It was pointed out that Chileans are traditionally miners, so, they had advantages over other gold seekers:

> ...The Chilean, with his little poncho and his dagger in his waist, walked step by step, hit few times with his crowbar, put the soil in his tray, revolved in the stream, put his ounce of gold in his purse and went to eat his *charqui* and his *grangollo*...[4]

The success in the extraction of gold and his ability to use a knife to defend his purse full of gold dust, brought the Chilean the antipathy of other groups.

The situation turned worse when the Galgos (greyhounds) arrived.

> An organization integrated by the scum of the disbanded regiment of volunteers from New York, who mixed with Australian bandits, and the worse plebe of the city. Their captain was Sam Roberts. They paraded on the streets with drums, flutes and floating flags. They called themselves the *Galgos* or Regulators, and with the pretext that they will look for the public security, they interferred in everything and committed all kind of crimes. They abused because of their strength in number and in arms. They demanded taxes from businessmen and neighbors to maintain the organization...[5]

The Galgos attacked Chilecito and burned the tents and the barracks. A Mormon man addressed the people from the roof of his house, and made them form an organization to defend themselves from the Galgos. They created a civil guard that imprisoned Roberts and 18 of the Galgos. But the organization of the Galgos was strong and not only operated in San Francisco, but also in the gold mines. One of the most sorrowful incidents took place in a little stream in Las Calaveras, near Stockton.

Since the beginning of the gold fever, Chileans and Mexicans were good friends. They discovered a placer or place where the gold was washed into the Los Calaveras stream. One day the Galgos drove them out and took possession of the placer. Chileans and Mexicans complained to the sheriff of Stockton and he gave them permission to take the law into their own hands against the Galgos.

Two hundred Mexicans and Chileans armed with short guns, poniards, arched knives and *boleadoras*. The Galgos had 42 men, but they had rifles, so they killed 14 Chileans and 14 Mexicans; but they ran out of ammunition and they continued fighting with steel arms. In that moment the *corvo chileno* (arched knife) entered on stage and 13 Galgos were killed and 13 others were seriously wounded, while the rest were handed to the sheriff of Stockton. Mexicans and Chileans continued working in Las Calaveras.[6]

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[4] Vicente Pérez Ramos Rosales, *Recuerdos del pasado*.

[5] Zoeth S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, reference from Enrique Bunster's *Chileanos en California*.

[6] Enrique Bunster, *Chileanos en California*. Editorial del Pacífico, Santiago, Chile, 1954.

Joaquín Murieta was from Quillota, an agricultural town near Valparaíso. His brother, Carlos, was in San Francisco and his brother Joaquín decided to join him. They went together to work at the gold *placeres*. Joaquín married Carmela Féliz, a Mexican girl. Everything went well until one day the Galgos attacked and killed Carlos and Carmela, after raping her. Joaquín survived. Joaquín Murieta organized a band of 300 highway bandits, Chileans and Mexicans, and from 1850 to 1853, they became the terrorists from Oregon to Mexico, and from the Rocky Mountains to the coast. Among Murieta's group were Reinaldo Féliz, and the Chileans Luis Carrera, Pedro González, Joaquín Valenzuela, Juan Evangelista Reyes and Juan Tresdedos.

Finally, Murieta was caught. He was killed, and his head was put in a bottle with alcohol and exhibited in Stockton, at the corner of Haleck and Sanson Streets. The cost to see the head was one dollar.

This was the only meaningful migration of Chileans to the United States. Since then migration has been limited. Only a few Chileans can be found in New York or Miami, and they have incorporated themselves to Latin groups in those cities.

Cuban Americans: History and Process

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Cuba is not, as some would say, a small Caribbean island catapulted to improbable celebrity by the complexities of contemporary superpower confrontation. Nor are Cubans just one more among the many immigrant groups that have found their way to the United States. Cuba, in fact, is a strategic island whose destiny has been intimately tied to that of this country for centuries, and Cubans as a people have been participants in the history of what is now the United States since the days of the Spanish Conquistadors.

The emergence of the United States as a world power in 1898, arguably one of the single most important milestones in modern American history, or for that matter, Spanish history, was intimately tied to events in Cuba. The Spanish-American War, the crucible of America's newfound power, was fought over the island and came at the end of half a century of conflict and debate about its fate. Seen in this light, it is indeed ironic that the first successful challenge to the age of American hegemony over the Western Hemisphere—the Castro Revolution—also should have occurred in Cuba.

Since 1959, roughly a million Cubans have crossed the 90 miles that separate Havana from Key West, thousands in the literal sense of rowing away on anything that floats. Together with the Puerto Ricans and the Mexicans, the Cubans constitute one of the three major Hispanic-origin groups within the United States. The development of modern South Florida owes much to them. Cuban enclaves, large and small, from Union City, New Jersey, to Milwaukee, Boston, and Chicago, have taken their place within the ethnic kaleidoscope of America.

A casual observer might conclude that the significant Cuban presence in modern America is a recent development, a result of the Castro revolution. A more careful analysis, however, reveals this to be far from the truth. On March 11, 1987, evidence of Spanish colonial occupation came to the surface as foundations for a development were dug several meters away from the Florida state capitol in downtown Tallahassee. What looked at first like one more cache of Spanish colonial artifacts, a fairly frequent event in Florida archaeology, turned out to be an earlier and far more exciting discovery than anyone imagined.

The Tallahassee discovery is what remains of Hernando de Soto's encampment in the environs of the native village of Anhayca during the winter of 1539-1540. De Soto, whose expedition was completely outfitted in Cuba, was one of Florida's first visitors from the island. Native interpreters and porters from Cuba were brought to Florida by de Soto, and the expedition's most effective scouts were Cuban *mestizos*. Thus, the first Cubans in Florida arrived four and a half centuries ago.

During most of the Spanish colonial period, Florida was connected to and indeed governed from Havana. The movement of people between Spanish Florida and Cuba, while never large in an absolute sense, was nevertheless crucial in its implications of a human bond between the two communities. As early as the late sixteenth century, Florida populations were relocated to Cuba, notably the Tequesta tribe of the Miami area, many of whose members went to the island with their Jesuit missionaries when the latter returned to Havana. In 1762, when the Cuban capital fell to the British under the Earl of Albemarle, numerous Cubans migrated to Florida, including the Bishop of Havana, Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz. A year later, when Spanish Florida was conveyed to Great Britain in exchange for Cuba's return to Spanish obedience, a large contingent of Florida Spanish loyalists settled in the environs of the Cuban town of Matanzas and elsewhere on the island.

The same process in reverse occurred in 1783, when Spain formally regained control of her Florida colony. Florida exiles who had settled in Cuba returned to their home. In 1803, when Louisiana was ceded to the United States, numerous Spanish and French subjects of the Spanish king settled in the Cuban town of Cienfuegos. In 1819-21, when Florida passed under United States rule, many Spanish Floridians sought the protection of the Spanish flag in Cuba. Cárdenas, on Cuba's northern shore, was settled by Florida refugees.

In October of 1988, a major international conference in Miami culminated with a panel in which the main papers were offered by actual descendants of governors of Spanish Florida who are now residents of Dade County, members of the vast Hispanic population of America's newest metropolis. Ongoing research designed to identify descendants of the pioneers of Spanish Florida has yielded literally hundreds and potentially thousands of entries, an unbroken chain of Hispanic tradition stretching back to Florida's beginnings.

Four Spanish colonial governors of Florida—Laureano de Torres y Ayala (1693-1700), Juan de Ayala y Escobar (1716-18), Manuel Joseph de Jústiz (1737) and José Coppinger (1816-21)—were actually Cuban *criollos*. Sebastián Kindelán (1812-15) and José Callava (1819-21) settled in Cuba after their service in Florida and became the progenitors of important Cuban families. In particular, Torres de Ayala was one of colonial Florida's most memorable leaders. During his short administration, the shape of a mature St. Augustine began to emerge. Torres started work on the town's sea wall and completed the *Castillo de San Marcos*, which had been started a quarter of a century earlier by the Cuban military engineer, Ignacio Daza.

In ecclesiastical matters, the relationship between Cuba and the Spanish colonial provinces of Florida and Louisiana was close. A Cuban-born bishop, Dionisio Rezino, was the first prelate to be assigned special responsibility for Florida and actually travelled there for a few months. In 1787, Father Francisco Traconis from Santiago de Cuba taught at the first public school in the United States to admit black pupils. When the Roman Catholic diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas was organized in 1793, Luis María Ignacio de Peñalver (1719-1810), a member of a prominent Havana family, was appointed the first proprietary bishop. Of course, these anecdotal instances reveal deeper, structural connections. Until the appointment of Bishop Peñalver, the Catholic church in the southeast was actually subordinated to Cuban ecclesiastical authorities. Florida's Jesuit and Franciscan missions were supplied and supervised from the neighboring island.

Exciting new historical and archaeological research dramatically illustrates the richness of the movement of people of all races between island and peninsula. Historian Levi Marrero speaks of a brisk trade between Florida natives and Cuba under Spanish rule. Excavations by University of Florida researchers at the Fuerte de Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose near Saint Augustine are revealing the way of life of an entire community of former slaves that preferred to migrate to Cuba, rather than become subjects of the British Crown in 1763.

One of the results of the fall of Havana to the British under the Earl of Albemarle in 1762 was that Spain traded Florida to Great Britain in exchange for the Cuba capital the following year. Thus this trade temporarily interrupted what had, in fact, become a significant human exchange. The new status quo, however, opened unique opportunities for trade between the Cuban criollos and American ports like Boston. Consequently, trade increased notably in the years prior to the American Revolution.

Cuba played a significant, if often unsung, role during the American War for Independence. Juan de Miralles, a Havana merchant, served as de facto Spanish ambassador to the American patriots and was therefore a key figure in the history of American diplomacy. Miralles' close relationship with Washington served the patriot cause well, and it was only his unexpected death that prevented him from becoming the first official Spanish diplomatic envoy to the new Republic.

Cuban participation was not limited to the diplomatic field. In 1781, Bernardo de Gálvez defeated the British at Pensacola and thus opened the way for the later, decisive rout at Yorktown. Gálvez forces were equipped and financed in Cuba by public subscription. Many of his soldiers were Cuban members of the Havana colonial militias. Cuban fighters, therefore, played a crucial, if unsung, role in the American Revolution. Gálvez, however, though one of the most brilliant military commanders in North American history, is little known. His failure to generate a level of recognition similar to that accorded to his contemporaries, the Frenchman Lafayette or the Pole Kosciusko, is a symptom of much of what is wrong with the biased way history and social studies are taught in American schools today.

Cuba's own search for independent nationhood took up the better part of the nineteenth century. As early as the 1820s, Cuban separatists began to migrate to the United States. Secure in the political haven of America, they wrote, conspired, and kept an eye on island events. Among them was the poet José María Heredia, who arrived in Boston in 1823 and settled shortly thereafter in New York, where he taught, translated, and wrote some of the best known and best loved romantic poems in the Spanish language. Heredia, who was among the first Latin Americans to deal extensively with the United States in his writings, is the author of the famous *Ode to Niagara*, which is cast in bronze on a bluff overlooking the falls.

Another significant figure from those early days was a priest, Félix Varela y Morales (1787), whose contribution to the development of the Catholic church in the United States would suffice in its own right to secure him a place in history, were he not one of Cuba's heroes. Varela was born in Cuba but raised in St. Augustine. Educated at

Havana's Colegio-Seminario de San Carlos, he became a professor of philosophy at the college and began what promised to be a brilliant career in the Cuban clergy. Elected to represent Cuba at the Spanish *Cortes* (parliament) that wrote the liberal Constitution of 1812, he espoused antislavery and anti-absolutism and was forced into exile when King Ferdinand VII recovered the throne.

Varela's career unfolded in New York, where this radical Cuban cleric found a fertile field for his talents in the ministry to the immigrants. A tireless advocate of Cuban independence, he wrote numerous works and became something of a symbol for Cuba's liberal intellectuals. An influential teacher, he trained a generation of Cuban philosophers, wrote textbooks that were influential in the teaching of philosophy throughout Latin America, and translated Jefferson's *Manual of Parliamentary Procedure*. Ever concerned for the poor, he founded two churches, three schools, and a hospital in New York City and became Vicar General for the New York diocese. He was nominated for a bishopric, but his candidacy was vetoed by an unforgiving Spanish government. By the time of his death in St. Augustine in 1853, he was widely revered not only by the Cuban, but indeed by the Catholic community of the United States. Varela's remains are buried at the Great Hall of the University of Havana, but his original grave at St. Augustine's historic Tolomato cemetary has become a place for pilgrimages due to Varela's current candidacy for canonization by the Roman Catholic Church. He should become an appropriate saint: a saint for the immigrants, the poor, the Hispanics, and all those who have gone to the United States of America in search of liberty or the opportunity to struggle for liberty in their native lands.

Heredia and Varela were not alone. Throughout the nineteenth century, numerous Cuban writers, poets, statespersons, scholars, scientists, and publicists lived and worked in the United States contributing widely to the development of both nations. Among them are philosopher and polemicist José Antonio Saco (1797-1879); novelist Cirilo Villaverde (1803-66); historian Pedro Guiteras (1814-90); composer Ignacio Cervantes (1845-1905); medical researcher Manuel González Echevarría (1833-1910), the founder of the first asylum for the mentally ill in New York; engineer Aniceto Menocal (1836-1908), one-time chief engineer for the Panama Canal; Tomás Estrada Palma (1835-1908), the first president of the Cuban Republic; and so many others that a list would be indeed tiresome. It would not be far-fetched to state that a significant amount of Cuban culture during the nineteenth century was produced by exiles in the United States, a phenomenon that is being replicated today by literally thousands of exile artists, writers, and scholars.

An individual who deserves special mention because of the significance of his achievement and its impact on later American history is Carlos J. Finlay (1833-1915), a native of Camagüey. Finlay, a physician who graduated from the Jefferson Memorial Medical College of Philadelphia, was the first to postulate that yellow fever could be transmitted by an insect vector: a species of mosquito known as *Stegomya fasciata*. His discovery, confirmed by an experiment of his design successfully performed by American medical authorities in Cuba during the first American occupation (1898-1902), forms the basis for the prophylaxis of yellow fever. Without Finlay's genius, it is doubtful that the Panama Canal, located in an area where yellow fever was endemic, could ever have been built. Unfortunately, Finlay's achievements have been systematically ignored by writers of American history textbooks, the heirs to biases common in an age of strident, often vulgar nationalism.

After the middle of the nineteenth century, several attempts were made to detach Cuba from the Spanish Empire, opening the way for her annexation to the American union as one more slave state. This included two failed invasions led by Narciso López and organized with the support of southern interest. The legacy of the López invasion was the Cuban flag, which flew for the first time in Cárdenas in 1850. Significantly, the flag became known as the "Lone Star," a reference to the 1836 Republic of Texas, later annexed as a state. The outbreak of the American Civil War and the defeat of the South laid aside annexationist plans; from then on, full independence was to be the goal.

In 1868, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes declared Cuban independence, freed his slaves, and unleashed a conflict that was to become known as the Ten Years War. One of the consequences of the conflict was the migration of many Cubans to the United States, where an exile community developed at Key West that soon numbered several thousand. In New York, a Cuban revolutionary junta was formed to represent the interests of the "Republic of Cuba in Arms," which the United States, however, never recognized. At Key West, nearness to Cuba gave a tremendous impetus to trade and the production of cigars, which became the island's main industry. In 1871, an ethnic club, the *Instituto San Carlos*, was founded. The club included a school that subsequently educated several generations of Cuban youth and lasted until 1960. All in all, some 8,000 Cubans left their homeland for the United States between 1868 and 1878.

The conclusion of the war, however, did not imply the cessation of emigration. Rather, the opposite took place as Spanish colonial repression increased and the island sank deeper into economic recession. Over the next two

decades, some 45,000 Cubans left their homeland, bound for the established enclave at Key West and newer Cuban communities emerging at Ybor City (Tampa), Ocala and Jacksonville in Florida, and New York City.

Ybor City was founded by a consortium of Spanish cigar manufacturers led by Ignacio Haya and Vicente Martínez Ybor, after whom the city was named. Martínez Ybor had been based originally at Key West, where access to skilled Cuban labor had made him wealthy. However, the restlessness of the Cuban workers and the Key's nearness to Cuba had suggested to him that he move his operation to the recently settled Tampa Bay area. The first smoke in Ybor City was produced amidst much fanfare at the factory of Snchez and Haya on April 13, 1886. Within a few years, the Tampa cigar industry, made up of Cuban labor and reasonably secure from the labor unrest endemic in Key West, had taken a commanding lead. It was precisely among the Cuban colonies of Tampa and Key West that Cuba's national hero, José Martí (1853-95), was to find his most effective followers and collaborators. Without their support, Martí's efforts would have been far more difficult, perhaps impossible.

Tampa and Key West cherish their connections with the Cuban past. A recent issue of *Cuban Heritage*, a journal published at Florida International University, includes a moving article about the Martí-Maceo club in Tampa, an Afro-Cuban organization that has endured virtually since the days of Martí and managed to retain a sense of Cuban identity over four generations. Soon the restored San Carlos Institute in Key West will rise again as a monument to the island city's historic links to Cuba's struggle for freedom.

It was the presence of Martí in the late nineteenth century that energized the exile Cuban communities in Tampa, Key West, New York, and elsewhere and launched the definitive struggle for Cuba's independence. Martí was born in Havana on January 28, 1853, the year of Varela's death. He was taught by one of Cuba's great teachers, Rafael María de Mendive, from whom he learned the latter's devotion to Cuban freedom. While still an adolescent, he was implicated in anti-Spanish activities and sentenced to hard, long labor. Upon his release, he went into exile, which began his long career as a writer, journalist, political organizer, and tireless advocate of Cuban independence.

Martí's special contribution was to rekindle the enthusiasm for independence dampened by the defeat of the Cuban insurgents at the end of the Ten Years War. Martí appealed to a broader constituency than the leaders of the Céspedes generation: the cigar workers, the rank and file of the emigré community, and the poor. He asked all Cubans to join him in the mighty task of independence. He died in the field in Cuba, an unlikely soldier, on May 19, 1895.

Martí is a central figure in the history of Cuba and Latin America. He ought to appear equally large in the history of the United States and that of Hispanic Americans. Martí lived in the United States for many years and became a powerful and engaging commentator of the American scene during the Gilded Age. Although this is a side of Martí that is often eclipsed by his heroic dimensions within a Cuban context, he was one of the most influential and penetrating analysts of American society during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. A serious reading of Martí from an American perspective needs to be undertaken by those interested in the development of the United States between the end of the Civil War and the onset of the Spanish-Cuban-American conflict. It is arguable, moreover, that the Cuban hero, a tireless contributor to a score of newspapers throughout Latin America, decisively molded the image of the United States in the nations to the south as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

Although a Cuban first and foremost, Martí's fundamental concern was not exclusively with the freedom of his native country, but indeed with the entire Latin American community, which he referred to as *Nuestra América*—"Our America." He identified closely with Mexico, a country he saw as taking a leading role within the concert of Latin American nations, and with Puerto Rico, a sister Caribbean island whose destiny was inextricably intertwined with Cuba's. Although one might imagine that Martí held strong anti-Spanish views, the opposite was in fact the case. His father was a Valencian and his mother a Canary Islander. Martí himself lived for awhile in Madrid and Saragossa, where he read law. As the "apostle" of his country's political independence, he was one of the greatest writers and poets of the language. He wrote in his *Versos Sencillos* of the Spain of his youth:

> Amo esta tierra florida,
> musulmana o española,
> donde rompió su corola
> la poca flor de mi vida.

The Spanish-American War effort reinforced Florida's traditional ties to Cuba. Tampa became a major arena for the Cuban campaign. Farther to the south, the new and threadbare city of Miami—one of whose founders in 1896, incidentally, had been a Cuban, a Mr. L. Gonzalez—harbored at any given time 7,000 United States troops ready for combat. The conclusion of the war led to Spain's defeat and the acquisition of Cuba and Puerto Rico by the United States. The latter had a major significance for the history of Hispanic Americans. The

emergence of the Cuban Republic in 1902 created a unique international relationship defined by the terms of the Platt Amendment and the Permanent Treaty of 1901, which reserved to the United States the right to intervene in Cuba under certain circumstances. This arrangement survived until 1933, when Cuba became a fully sovereign and independent nation in fact as well as in name.

The study of Cuban-American relations during the first half of the twentieth century is in itself a fascinating study, one which further underlines the centrality of Cuba to the United States. Ironically, for all the closeness of Cuban-American relations in the political, diplomatic, and, economic spheres, Cuban migration to the United States in the twentieth century was of a very low intensity before 1959. Between 1900 and 1958, a grand total of 166,203 Cubans entered the United States as immigrants, that is, 2,865 on the average per year. Of those, 40,267 entered between 1956 and 1958 alone. The last two years of the Batista dictatorship was, therefore, a time of considerable political turmoil.

As a result of the Castro takeover in 1959, however, migration acquired massive proportions. Cubans have come at different times and under different circumstances. This influx has resulted in a complex, nuanced, and fascinating human mix. Several waves of immigration are discernible. Between January 1, 1959, and the October 1962 missile crisis, some 200,000 persons entered the United States as refugees from Cuba. Between 1962 and 1965, the only way to leave Cuba was clandestinely by boat. Consequently, the number of exiles dwindled to a few thousand. In 1966, the Castro regime opened the port of Camarioca, and a boatlift resulted in some 5,000 evacuees. Between 1965 and 1973, an arrangement between the United States and Cuban governments allowed the orderly exit of a further quarter of a million exiles. In 1980, the dramatic Mariel boatlift brought 125,000 Cubans to Miami in a matter of weeks.

After almost 30 years of migration, a human wave has fundamentally altered the political, demographic, economic, and cultural landscape of Miami, which has become in the process a truly bilingual city. Obviously, Miami was not the only destination of Cuban exiles and is by no means the only focus of Cuban-American culture within the United States. Union City, New Jersey, is another important enclave with its own personality that sets it apart from Miami. One could cite further examples: Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Houston, and other major American cities harbor large Cuban communities. This writer met and married his Cuban wife in Lincoln, Nebraska, where a community of several hundred exiles existed as late as the 1970s.

However, Miami occupies a special niche in contemporary Cuban-American life. As I hope the foregoing has demonstrated, Miami and Florida hold a special position in the Cuban-American mentality—Miami is the "Mecca" of the *exilio*, a status fully justified both by geography and history. In Florida, Cubans are on familiar turf. They are attracted to it because it is, after all, the land of their ancestors. Castro has, in the end, decisively strengthened Florida's Cuban connection, forging a vast Cuban presence in Miami. This is not the least among the many ironies of history.

In Florida, Cubans have dreamed their freedom as they helped conquer it. They have succeeded in the past and will, doubtless, do so again in the future. While they have waited for that day, they have always been in the forefront of building a community that is, in a very real sense, their own.

Cuban Contributions to America: Past and Present

by Frank de Varona

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Cuban Americans have played a distinguished role in our nation's history. The Cuban community has given us soldiers, writers, educators, business leaders, politicians, artists, musicians, athletes, diplomats, public servants, and professionals in many fields. Cuban Americans contribute daily to our lives. By and large, they are energetic and hard working. The contributions of some in selected areas are discussed in this article.

CUBANS IN AMERICA'S WARS

Cuban Americans have contributed gallantly to our nation's defense from the time of the American Revolution to the present. Many Cubans participated in the various military campaigns of General Bernardo de Gálvez in the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf of Mexico. This Spanish general, a forgotten hero of a forgotten ally, played a most important role during the War for Independence. Gálvez became the governor of Spanish Louisiana on January 1, 1777. Immediately, he began helping the American revolutionaries by closing the port of New Orleans to the British and confiscating 11 British ships. He welcomed Americans to the territory of Louisiana, which, at the time, encompassed part or all of 13 future states west of the Mississippi River and extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. Governor Gálvez gave money, rifles, bullets, powder, blankets, and medicines to the armies of General George Washington in Virginia and General George Rogers Clark in the Ohio Valley.

The Mississippi Valley Campaign

On June 21, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain as an ally of France and cobelligerent of the 13 colonies. When the news reached New Orleans in July, Gálvez held a *junta de guerra*, or council of war. He decided to attack the British right away. His force was made up of 667 men from the following nationalities and ethnic groups: 170 veteran Spanish soldiers, 330 Mexican recruits from the viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico) and men from the Canary Islands, 80 free blacks, 60 militiamen from Cuba, 20 *carabineros*, and 7 American volunteers. The small army marched to the German and Acadian coast, where 600 soldiers and 160 Indians joined his force, raising his command to 1,427 soldiers (Caughey, 1934, pp. 153-154 and Portell-Vilá, 1978, p. 106).

On September 7, Gálvez captured Fort Bute in Manchac and on September 21, Baton Rouge. Gálvez also demanded the surrender of Fort Pammure in Natchez. With forces from Pointe Couppe, Carlos Grand Pre seized the British ports on Thompson's Creek and Amite. Additionally, eight British ships that were bringing reinforcements from Pensacola were captured. In a few weeks, Gálvez had captured five British forts and had taken more than 1,000 prisoners, who were sent to Havana, Cuba. Two other battles took place in the upper Mississippi Valley. Captain Ferdinand de Leyba repulsed a British and Indian attack on St. Louis on May 26, 1780, and the English port of St. Joseph on Lake Michigan was captured by a small Spanish force on February 12, 1781.

The Capture of Mobile

The second phase of Gálvez's campaign involved the expulsion of the British from the Gulf of Mexico. The first objective was Mobile.

When General Gálvez requested reinforcements from the captain general of Cuba, Diego Navarro, he was refused assistance at first. He then sent Colonel Esteban Miró, as his personal representative, to ask the captain general for 2,000 soldiers. However, he only received 567 men, from the Regiment of Navarra, and they arrived in Mobile Bay in late February 1780.

On January 2, 1780, Gálvez's army of 754 men left New Orleans. This army consisted of 43 men of the *Regimiento del Príncipe*, Prince's Regiment, of the Second Battalion of Spain; 50 of the *Regimiento Fijo*, Fixed Regiment, of Havana (most of these men were Cuban-born soldiers); 141 of the Fixed Regiment of Louisiana; 14 artillery men; 26 carabineros; 323 white militiamen; 107 free blacks; 24 slaves; and 26 Americans (Caughey, 1932, pp. 174-175

and Portell-Vilá, 1978, p. 111). Later, Navarro sent Gálvez 1,439 men, including 339 black Cubans from the *Batallón de Milicias de Pardos y Morenos de la Habana*, Havana Battalion of Black Militiamen (Portell-Vilá, 1978 p. 111) After a 20-day siege, he captured Mobile on March 13. Following this victory, the King of Spain promoted Bernardo de Gálvez to field marshal in command of Spanish operations in America, and Gálvez was given the new title of governor of Louisiana and Mobile.

The Siege of Pensacola

Field Marshal Gálvez then began immediate preparations for the capture of Pensacola, the most important British stronghold in the Gulf of Mexico. This city, the capital of the British colony of West Florida, was defended by a British and Indian army of approximately 2,500 soldiers. Gálvez encountered numerous difficulties in this enterprise, including the reluctance of the captain general of Cuba to assist him and the weather, which was never in his favor. Such adverse circumstances resulted in three unsuccessful expeditions against Pensacola. One of these left Havana in October 1780 with approximately 4,000 men. After two days at sea, a hurricane struck, scattering the ships and carrying some of them to Mexico. The other two expeditions had taken place earlier in the year, in February and March, and were withdrawn by Navarro for various reasons (Rush, 1966, p. 5). In January of 1781, Colonel José de Ezpeleta repulsed a British-Indian attack upon Mobile. This attack served to enhance Gálvez's awareness of the danger British Pensacola posed to Mobile.

A fourth and final expedition left Havana on February 29, 1781. Gálvez's army, with additional reinforcements from Mobile, New Orleans, and Havana, eventually exceeded 7,000 men. It was truly an international army made up of black and white soldiers: 4,000 came from Cuba, 2,000 from Mexico, and the rest from Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Venezuela, New Orleans, and Mobile. A Cuban-born general, Juan Manuel de Cagigal, who would later become governor of Cuba, led the Spanish troops and Cuban-born militia from Havana. Gálvez's bravery was demonstrated time and time again. When Admiral José Calvo de Irazabal refused to risk his ship by entering Pensacola Bay, Gálvez led three small ships past the great guns mounted to protect the entrance of the British fort, and he penetrated the bay successfully. All of the other ships followed his example, except Admiral Calvo's ship, the *San Ramón*, which sailed in disgrace back to Havana. Gálvez was wounded again at Pensacola, as he was often positioned at the forefront of the line, leading his soldiers.

After two months of heavy fighting, the British surrendered Pensacola on May 8, 1781. Gálvez now had driven the British out of the Mississippi Valley and the Gulf of Mexico. He was promoted to lieutenant general, named governor and captain general of Louisiana and Florida, made a count, and given a coat of arms by King Carlos III of Spain that showed him on a ship bearing the inscription "Yo Solo," or "I Alone." Later, General Gálvez was made governor of Cuba, and upon the death of his father, he became viceroy of New Spain. He died in Mexico at the age of 40 after a brief but highly successful administration.[1]

Historian Orwin Rush has called the Battle of Pensacola "a decisive factor in the outcome of the Revolution and one of the most brilliantly executed battles of the war" (Rush, 1966, p. 2). This is also the only battle of the American Revolution about which a contemporary account was written by the commanding officer. Gálvez's *Diario* is a remarkable day-by-day description of this battle. Cuban historian Herminio Portell-Vilá stated that Gálvez's campaign broke the British army's will to fight. Additionally, the Spanish army's attacks did not permit the British to gather a strong army at Yorktown, which thus became the final battle of the American Revolution.

The Capture of the Bahamas

After a few months, another expedition was organized by Juan Manuel de Cagigal, who was then captain general of Cuba. He captured the Bahamas and sent to Havana 274 British soldiers and 338 militiamen as prisoners of war. This Cuban-born general also captured 12 British ships as well as military supplies. He liberated 65 merchant ships, many of which were American, in addition to Spanish, Cuban, American, French, and Dutch men who were in captivity in the Bahamas. Some prisoners had already died in captivity in the Bahamas, including Cuban-born prisoners (Portell-Vilá, 1978, pp. 122-123).

Cuban Assistance to the American Revolution

Spain and its colonies provided considerable financial assistance to the 13 colonies. The Cuban assistance in money, trade, and repair of American ships was significant.

In the spring of 1781, both General Washington and the Count of Rochambeau, the general of the French army in the colonies, were quite desperate. Both commanders needed money to buy food, weapons, clothing, and supplies and to pay their soldiers' salaries, which were in arrears.

General Rochambeau wrote a series of letters to

[1] Bernardo and Marie Felicite Gálvez had two daughters, Matilde and Guadalupe, and one son, Miguel. Matilde, who inherited the family title, moved to Italy. Miguel died young. There is no record regarding Guadalupe, who was born in Mexico City after the death of her father (Parks, 1981, p. 24).

Admiral de Grasse, whose fleet had just arrived in Santo Domingo. He informed de Grasse that both his army and the American forces were at the end of their resources and needed 1,200,000 *tournois* (pounds) to launch an attack against the British. De Grasse was unable to raise that considerable sum in the colony of Santo Domingo, so he sent three of his best frigates, among these the *Aigrette* under the command of Saint-Simon, to Havana. Upon arrival, Saint-Simon contacted the governor of Cuba, Juan Manuel de Cagigal, and his aide-de-camp, Francisco de Miranda. The money was collected from different sources, primarily the ladies of Havana, who gave their jewelry and diamonds to the cause. Havana merchants also donated funds. Why were the merchants and the ladies of Havana interested in helping the Americans? One reason was a desire for expanded trade, and another was sympathy with the plight of other colonials. Yet another reason was their hatred of the British, who had captured Havana in 1762 and mistreated its inhabitants.

The treasure was brought to America by Admiral de Grasse and was divided between the American and French forces. The money helped to finance the Yorktown campaign that ended with the surrender of the British troops on October 31, 1781. The Cuban financial assistance proved crucial. American historian Stephen Bonsal says, "The million that was supplied Saint-Simon to pay the troops by the ladies of Havana may, with truth, be regarded as the bottom dollars upon which the edifice of American independence was erected (Bonsal, 1945, p. 120).

In addition to the financial aid, Havana assisted the American patriots in another significant way. During the conflict, American ships found a safe harbor and were repaired and supplied at no cost at the shipyards in Havana. The small fleet of seven ships of Alexander Gillon from South Carolina was repaired, armed, and given food and other supplies in 1778 at a cost of 64,424 pesos. Juan de Miralles, the future Spanish agent in the colonies, assumed financial responsibility for the repairs of Gillon's ship (Portell-Vilá, 1978, p. 141). Havana's shipyards, the *Arsenal de La Habana*, were among the best in the world. Naval and merchant ships of all sizes were built and repaired there from 1724 to 1796 (Sariego del Castillo, 1974, pp. 18-21).

Spanish Financial Assistance

The total financial contribution of Spain and her colonies is difficult to ascertain, since at the beginning it was all covert aid. Financial assistance came from various countries in Europe, as well as from Louisiana, California, Mexico, and Cuba. From Spain alone, 7,944,806 *reales* and 16 *maravedis vellón* were contributed during 1776, 1777, and 1778 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Legajo 3898, October 28, 1794). One thing is certain: without this significant financial assistance and naval and military support from Spain and France, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for George Washington to defeat the British army at Yorktown.

The War of 1812

In 1812, the United States and Great Britain were at war again. Hispanics joined the army of General Andrew Jackson and fought the British in the Battle of New Orleans. It is possible that some people who were Cuban-born and of Cuban ancestry living in Louisiana could have participated in the struggle. However, there is no information on this subject.

The Second Seminole War

The Second Seminole War (1835-1843) was the longest and most costly Indian war in the nation's history. More than 1,500 soldiers were killed, and the nation spent approximately $40,000,000 during this conflict (Copeland and Dovell, 1957, p. 187). The Second Seminole War was another dark page in the history of white people's dealings with the Indians. In this war, approximately 4,000 Seminole Indians and their black allies were fighting to preserve their lands from the encroachment of white settlers. The Seminole Indians benefited from their trade with Cuba, which had gone on for many years. They obtained gun powder, rifles, garments, and tobacco from the island.

One Cuban-born sailor assisted the United States Army as an interpreter, and a Florida-born Hispanic, who later moved to Cuba, served as a brigadier general during this war.

Juan Montes de Oca. Juan Montes de Oca, a Cuban-born sailor, arrived in Florida in 1830. In addition to his native language, Montes de Oca spoke English and the Seminole language. He served as interpreter for the United States Army unit stationed at Fort Brooke in the Tampa Bay area. Montes de Oca married an Indian woman and had a daughter, Victoria, who later married Alfonso de Launay from Virginia. Montes de Oca had other children, and their descendants live in Tampa, Florida, today (Isern, 1971, p. 118).

Joseph Marion Hernández. The second individual, who spent the last decade of his life in Cuba, was Joseph Marion Hernández. He was born on August 4, 1793, in St. Augustine, Florida. His parents were born on the island of Minorca, Spain, and had settled in Florida with a group of Minorcans, Greeks, and Italians who were brought there by Dr. Andrew Turnbull in 1768. Turnbull's colony at New Smyrna failed, however, after enduring many hardships. The survivors of New Smyrna

found a new life at St. Augustine. When Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1821, Hernández took the oath of allegiance to the new nation, served on the city council, and eventually became mayor of St. Augustine (Waterbury, 1983, p. 155).

Joseph M. Hernández played a most important role in the early affairs of Florida. In 1822, he was appointed the first territorial delegate to the Seventeenth United States Congress in Washington. As does the delegate of Puerto Rico in Congress today, Hernández could speak on issues but not vote. He was highly articulate and spoke effectively on behalf of Florida during his brief tenure. Hernández served from September 30, 1822, to March 3, 1823. He became the first Hispanic to serve in the United States Congress. Two years later, Hernández was elected president of the legislative council of the territory, which met in the newly-founded capital of Tallahassee. Besides his public duties, Hernández owned and managed a plantation.

With the outbreak of the Second Seminole War, Joseph Hernández raised a militia of volunteers and was appointed brigadier general. During the latter months of 1835 and early 1836, 16 plantations were completely destroyed by the Indians in East Florida. In January 1836, General Hernández fought a group of Indians at a plantation only two miles from St. Augustine. A few months later, he surprised Seminole chief Phillip and his followers at a plantation 30 miles south of St. Augustine. Soon after, an Indian prisoner led General Hernández to another Indian camp in the swamps. There, the general captured Indian chiefs Yucki Billy and his brother, Yucki Jack. Next, General Hernández apprehended Coacoochee and Blue Snake. In only a few months, he had taken prisoner five important Indian chiefs. However, General Hernández's biggest success was the capture of the two most important Indian chiefs, Osceola and Coa Hadjo. Under orders from Major General Thomas J. Jessup, General Hernández ignored a flag of truce at a meeting to discuss a peace treaty called by these two Indian leaders. In addition to Osceola and Coa Hadjo, 71 Indian braves were brought into custody at Moultrie Creek (Waterbury, 1983, p. 168). Hernández ran unsuccessfully for the United States Senate as a candidate of the Whig Party in 1845. He then moved to Cuba and became a planter near the province of Matanzas. Hernández died at his sugar plantation in 1857.

Joseph M. Hernández was the first Hispanic in the United States to achieve fame in politics and in the military. He was the first Hispanic mayor of an American city, first Hispanic elected to the territorial legislature, and first to serve in the United States Congress. He was also the first Hispanic given the rank of brigadier general. Without a doubt, he was the most influential Hispanic of his time.

The Civil War

During the Civil War, Cubans, like everyone else, fought on both sides of the conflict. Approximately 10,000 Hispanics participated in the war. It is not known how many Cubans were involved in the war. Many supported the Union. Among those supporting the Confederacy were two special Cubans, a man and a woman.

Cuban Confederate Soldiers. One of these Cubans was Loreta Janet Velázquez, who, without a doubt, was a fascinating and colorful individual. She was born and grew up in Havana, Cuba. In 1856, she married an army officer and moved to New Orleans. When the war started, Loreta's husband joined the Southern forces and soon died in a training accident. Velázquez, disguised as a man, joined the Confederate army as a lieutenant, with the name "Harry T. Buford." She then recruited a regiment of volunteers and fought in the important battles of Bull Run, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Balls' Bluff, and Shiloh. When her disguise was discovered, she became a spy for the South and assisted in blockade-running activities. Velázquez was married three times and raised four children (de Varona and Eskin, 1989, p. 84 and Burton, 1988, p. 13).

The second Cuban who fought for the South was Ambrosio José González. He had participated in an unsuccessful invasion to free Cuba from Spain under the orders of General Narciso López. González participated in the capture of Cardenas in Cuba and was the first invader wounded by the Spanish forces. He escaped to the United States and settled in South Carolina, where he married the daughter of a wealthy southern planter and author. In 1849, he became an American citizen.[2]

William L. Burton, author of *Melting Pot Soldiers*, believes that Gonzlez, who enlisted in November 1860, may have been the first volunteer from South Carolina. González served as an artillery officer under General P.T. Beauregard for a short period of time. Later, he was promoted to colonel and given the important assignment of inspector of the troops and coastal defenses of the state of South Carolina. Colonel González elaborated a well-prepared plan for the defense of the coast. His plan encompassed a system of mobile artillery and infantry as

[2] Ambrosio González' son, Narciso Gener González founded and became editor of *The State*, a daily newspaper in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1891. In his editorials, González attacked child labor, the lynching of blacks, and governmental corruption. He also wrote in favor of women's right to vote. His crusade for honest government cost him his life. He attacked South Carolina's lieutenant governor, Jim Tillman, and exposed his corruption. When Tillman lost the race for governor in 1902, he blamed González and his paper. Six months later, he shot and killed González. Though there were many witnesses, a jury found the shooting "justifiable" and set Tillman free (de Varona and Otfinoski, 1989, p. 12).

opposed to fixed defenses (de Varona and Eskin, 1989, p. 12; Burton, 1988, p. 14; and Portell-Vilá, 1988, p. 5-A).

Cuban Union Soldiers. Hispanics in New York created an all-Hispanic company in the 39th New York Infantry unit, known as the Garibaldi Guard. There were other all-Hispanic units in New Mexico, Arizona, and California that participated in battles against Confederate forces. It is possible that some Cubans may have served in these units.

Cuban historian Herminio Portell-Vilá mentions that there were some Cuban army doctors, such as Silva, Amabile, and Guiteras, serving in General Ulysses Grant's army. Portell-Vilá discusses two Cuban officers who served in the Union army and navy. Julio P. Garesché, a graduate of West Point, was assigned to the general's staff of the Army of the Cumberland. Garesché knew General Grant and was killed during the war. The second Cuban, Aniceto G. Menocal, served in the navy as an officer (Portell-Vilá, 1988, p. 5-A).

Federico Fernández Cavada. Perhaps the most remarkable Cuban to serve the Union was Federico Fernández Cavada. He distinguished himself as a brave soldier, poet, writer, sketcher, diplomat, and cartographer—a truly "Renaissance" individual.

Federico was born in Cienfuegos, Cuba, and upon the death of his father, he, his brother Adolfo, and his Native American mother moved to Philadelphia. On July 20, 1861, Fernández Cavada joined the 23d Regiment of Volunteers of Pennsylvania with the rank of captain. He was drafted as an engineer because of his ability to draw. He was also in charge of hot air balloons, which were used by the Union army for aerial surveillance of enemy forces.

Fernández Cavada participated in many important battles of the Civil War, among them Antietam, Fredericksburg, North Anna, Petersburg, and Gettysburg. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 114th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers and was assigned to the staff of General Birney.

During the Battle of Gettysburg, Colonel Fernández Cavada's unit was almost wiped out and he was taken prisoner. He was then sent to Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, where he remained from July 1863 to January 1864. While he was in prison, Colonel Fernández Cavada drew pictures and wrote on margins of whatever old newspapers and scraps of paper he could find. The colonel hid the writings and sketches in his socks and shoes and in those of other prisoners. Upon his release, Colonel Fernández Cavada published a book called *Libby Life*, in which he described the horrors and human-rights violations of the Confederate prisons. More than 100 years later, another Cuban, Armando Valladares, described the horrors of the communist prison system of Cuba. Both writings are quite similar in their descriptions of overcrowded facilities, dehumanizing and abusive treatment, lack of food and clothing, appalling health and sanitary facilities, and so forth.

Colonel Fernández Cavada's health deteriorated while in prison. His doctor recommended a warm climate to regain his health. Fernández Cavada requested and was then appointed United States consul in Trinidad, Cuba, a position that he held from the fall of 1864 to February 1869.

A major war, lasting 10 years, had broken out in Cuba against Spanish rule in 1868. Fernández Cavada resigned his diplomatic post and joined the Cuban rebels. Due to his military experience, intelligence, and leadership abilities, Fernández Cavada became a general of the Cuban Revolutionary Army and was given command of the province of Las Villas.

General Fernández Cavada was captured by Spanish forces in 1871, while trying to leave Cuba with a wounded soldier. The news was published by the *New York Herald* and read by many of Fernández Cavada's former Union officers. His friends mobilized immediately in an attempt to save his life. President Grant, who knew Fernández Cavada well, contacted the minister of Spain in Washington, who in turn sent a telegram to the captain general of Cuba in Havana. The United States ambassador in Spain, General Sickles, who also knew Fernández Cavada, interceded with the Spanish government in Madrid. Unfortunately, all these efforts were in vain, as Federico Fernández Cavada had been shot by a firing squad on July 1, 1871, in Puerto Príncipe (now Camagüey), Cuba, three days before the *New York Herald* had published news of his capture.

Federico Fernández Cavada's brother Adolfo had also fought on the Union side during the Civil War, as well as with the Cuban Revolutionary Army, where he also attained the rank of general. The two Fernández Cavada brothers and Ambrosio José González had fought on different sides during the War Between the States; however, they had been on the same side in their struggle for Cuban independence (Isern, 1971, pp. 78-107; de Varona and Eskin, 1989, pp. 84-87; Portell-Vilá, 1988, p. 5-A; and Martínez, 1987, pp. 145-152).

Spanish-American War

Cuban troops led by General Calixto García ably assisted the American troops during their invasion of Oriente Province in 1898 during the Spanish-American War. As Carlos E. Martínez Figueras points out, American books dealing with the Spanish-American War, with few exceptions, leave the reader with the impression that the Cuban forces were not involved in the fighting or did not perform any useful service. John F. Kendrick, historian and veteran of the war, discussed this injustice by saying: "Not one American in 10,000 realizes

how important the Cuban army was in our Spanish war.... Our historians simply state that we did it all.... Isn't honor overdue whenever honor was earned?" (Martínez Figueras, 1987, p. 299). Cuban forces assisted the United States Army from the moment it landed on the beaches in order to capture Santiago de Cuba. This battle ended with the Spanish surrender.

General Nelson Miles recognized General Garcia's Cuban army participation in the final phase of the campaign in his report to the Secretary of War. He stated:

> It will be observed that General García regarded my requests as his orders and promptly took steps to execute the plan of operations. He sent 3,000 men to check any movement of the 12,000 Spaniards stationed at Holguín. A portion of this latter force started to the relief of the garrison at Santiago but was successfully checked and turned back by the Cuban forces under General Feria. General García also sent 2,000 men, under Pérez, to oppose the 6,000 Spaniards at Guantánamo, and they were successful in their object. He also sent 1,000 men, under General Ríos, against 6,000 men at Manzanillo. Of this garrison, 3,500 men started to reinforce the garrison at Santiago and were engaged in no less than 30 combats with the Cubans on their way before reaching Santiago, and would have been stopped had General García's request of June 27 been granted (Foner, 1972, p. 365).

Another major Cuban contribution during the aftermath of the Spanish-American War was in conquest of the yellow fever, which caused the deaths of many American soldiers. Cuban-born Dr. Carlos Juan Finlay (1833-1915) discovered that the mosquito transmitted the yellow fever, and he shared this information with the United States government commission led by Dr. Walter Reed. The eradication of the yellow fever not only saved the lives of many Americans as well as other nationalities but also permitted the successful completion of the Panama Canal, a major American undertaking. Dr. Finlay was a graduate of Jefferson Memorial College in Philadelphia. He dedicated his entire life to research, and in 1905 he was nominated for a Nobel prize by a British doctor, Sir Ronald Ross, who had won the Nobel prize in 1903 for his discoveries of the causes of malaria. Another Cuban-born doctor who participated in the United States Army commission in Cuba was Dr. Arístides Agramonte (1868-1931), who was a graduate of Columbia University's School of Medicine. Dr. Agramonte became a professor of bacteriology at the University of Havana and attended many international conferences as Cuba's representative. During the last year of his life, Dr. Agramonte taught tropical medicine at Tulane University in New Orleans (Ripoll, 1987, pp. 19-20).

Twentieth-Century Wars

It is not known how many Cubans participated in World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, as the armed forces do not keep statistics on the number of Hispanics in the service, let alone the number of Cuban soldiers. Yet, many Cubans, including women, have served with distinction in these wars.

Mercedes O. Cubría. Mercedes O. Cubría, like Civil War veteran Loreta Janet Velázquez, was born in Cuba and served in the military with great courage.

When Mercedes Cubría retired from the United States Army in July 1973 at the advanced age of 70, she could look back with great pride on her brilliant army career. She had been on active duty almost 22 years. Enlisting as a soldier, she rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel, participated in World War II and the Korean War, and served during the difficult cold war period. Colonel Cubría was born in Guantánamo, Cuba, on April 15, 1903. After her mother died when she was a very young girl, she came to the United States with her two sisters to attend school. The three lived in the United States with a wealthy philanthropist from Philadelphia whom they had met earlier when the philanthropist opened a school in their native city. Mercedes Cubría stayed in the United States and later became a naturalized citizen.

In February 1943, Mercedes Cubría enlisted in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAACs), which later changed its name to Women's Army Corps (WACs) when it became part of the United States Army. After attending Officer Candidate School, she was commissioned as a second lieutenant. Lt. Cubría was assigned to the 385th Signal Company and later the 322d Signal Company as a codes-and-ciphers officer in England, where she was responsible for setting up code rooms and supervising 60 enlisted men. Later, Lt. Cubría was sent to France and Germany, where she worked as a personnel officer. After the war, she was promoted to the rank of captain, and while serving in the Canal Zone in Panama in 1948, she was promoted to major.

With the outbreak of the Korean War, Major Cubría was assigned as analyst, Intelligence Division, G2 Section, General Headquarters, Far East Command in Japan, where she served from 1950 to 1953. During this time, she was awarded the Bronze Star for meritorious achievement in ground operation against the enemy. Toward the end of the Korean War, Major Cubría became seriously ill and thus retired from the United States Army after 10 years of distinguished service. Little did she suspect that her army career was but half over.

During those retirement years, Major Cubría traveled extensively throughout Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. She frequently visited her relatives in Cuba. In 1957, Major Cubría moved to Tampa, Florida, to be close to a Cuban great-nephew who was attending boarding school in nearby St. Petersburg. When this great-nephew graduated from high school in 1960, his family left communist-controlled Cuba, and they all settled in Miami.

On April 17, 1961, both of Major Cubría's great-nephews participated in the Bay of Pigs invasion in an unsuccessful attempt to liberate Cuba from communism. While both of them were in prison in Cuba, the United States Army recalled Major Cubría to active duty in March 1962 at the age of almost 59, an age when most officers retire. For 11 years, Major Cubría interviewed thousands of Cuban refugees and prepared detailed reports for military intelligence. In her spare time, she assisted hundreds of Cuban refugees in obtaining employment, housing, education, and a variety of social services. Some she helped financially. She wrote hundreds of letters of character references, job referrals, and recommendations to schools, colleges, and universities on behalf of Cuban refugees. She became known by the nickname *"La Tia"* (the aunt), since she assisted so many Cubans who were now her "nephews and nieces."

During these years, Major Cubría worked with many United States Army intelligence officers and Central Intelligence Agency personnel in Miami. For her efforts, she was awarded the Legion of Merit in 1968. Major Cubría was appointed to the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1972, but shortly thereafter her health began to deteriorate, forcing an end to her army career. On July 1, 1973, 70-year-old Lt. Colonel Cubría retired from the U.S. Army. On the same day, she was awarded the Legion of Merit First Oak Leaf Cluster for exceptional meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service.

Lt. Colonel Cubría's health was poor during the next seven years of her life. She continued to live in Miami, surrounded by her family, friends, and many "nephews and nieces." After a long illness, which she endured with great courage, she died on October 14, 1980.

Bay of Pigs Veterans in the Armed Forces

On April 17, 1961, 1,500 United States-trained Cuban soldiers invaded Cuba in an unsuccessful attempt to topple the communist regime. The soldiers of the Assault Brigade landed at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of Cuba. After a three-day fight, approximately 1,200 *brigadistas* (brigade members) were captured by the estimated 60,000 Communist troops that descended upon the area. The invasion had been planned during President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration, and the plan was badly executed by President John F. Kennedy. The soldiers were trained in the hills of Guatemala by CIA-recruited former military officers. After the defeat at the Bay of Pigs, many soldiers were captured and imprisoned for 20 months. On December 24, 1962, the 1,200 members of Brigade 2506 were ransomed by the United States government at a cost of $62,500,000. (The payoff consisted mostly of baby food and medicine).

In March 1963, 211 Bay of Pigs veterans entered the United States Army, Marine Corps, Navy, and Air Force. At the end of a six-month special officer training course at Fort Benning, Georgia, all were commissioned as second lieutenants or ensigns in the armed forces. Most left the army after a few years; however, approximately 60 made a career in the armed forces. Some fought with the 82d Airborn Division in Santo Domingo during the communist uprising in 1965, and all fought in the Vietnam War.

Three Bay of Pigs veterans were killed in action during the Vietnam conflict. The first casualty was First Lieutenant Celso Pérez Rodríguez, United States Army Special Forces. He died while participating in a special military operation near the Cambodian border. Captain Félix Sosa Camejo died while trying to rescue a group of his soldiers who were pinned down by enemy fire in Huey. He was posthumously awarded the Silver Star. The third casualty, Irenaldo Padrón Hernández, served as a military advisor to a South Vietnamese unit. He died when his helicopter was shot down while on a mission with his troops in 1969. Many other Bay of Pigs veterans were wounded in Vietnam.

Most of the officers have now retired from the armed services. Almost all live in Miami. Among them are: Colonels Estéban M. Beruvídez Ballesteros and Ramón J. Ferrer y Mena; and Lieutenant Colonels Evelio R. Borrego, Humberto Olivera Pérez, Modesto Castañer López, Luis Martínez Castro, Francisco Padrón Hernández, Luis Barsena Serrano, and Raúl de la Torre Urrutia.

In April 1987, these nine officers and a group of Hispanic retired officers, among them some Bay of Pigs veterans, organized the Florida Legion Post #346 with 114 members. The post will be given the name of a Cuban-American soldier who died in Vietnam (*Diario las Américas*, April 26, 1987, p. 2-B).

There are ten Bay of Pigs veterans still active in the United States Army, two in the United States Navy, and one in the United States Air Force. All hold the rank of colonel, lieutenant colonel, or commander. Serving in the army are: Néstor Pino Marina, Manuel Granado Díaz, Reinaldo García Martínez, and Eric Fernández del Valle. The two officers in the navy, Vicente Secades López and Andrés Vazquez Ramírez, hold the rank of commander.

Colonel Matías Farias is the only one serving in the air force.

Major General Erneido A. Oliva. The Cuban American who holds the highest rank in the armed forces today is Erneido A. Oliva, a black.

Oliva was born in 1932 in Cuba. He graduated in 1954 from the Cuban Military Academy as a second lieutenant and served in the Cuban army until 1960, when he resigned his commission and came to Miami. He joined Brigade 2506 and eventually was promoted to second-in-command. Oliva fought bravely at the Bay of Pigs and was captured and imprisoned for 20 months.

Upon his release, Oliva joined the United States Army and after a short training period was made second lieutenant in March 1963. He fought as company commander of the 82d Airborn Division during the Dominican Invasion of 1966. The following year he retired from the army and joined the reserves. In 1971, Oliva joined the National Guard and was given various assignments, among them the command of Brigade 260 of the Military Police of the National Guard of the District of Columbia. As a civilian, he works as special assistant to the social services commissioner of the District of Columbia.

In February 1985, he became the first Cuban American promoted to the rank of brigadier general of the National Guard, District of Columbia. On December 16, 1987, Oliva was promoted again to major general of the National Guard.

Cuban Americans have fought bravely and shed their blood in America's defense since the American Revolution. Many have fought for freedom in Cuba during the long struggle for that island's independence from Spain as well as to free Cuba from communist rule in more recent times. These long struggles have brought tens of thousands of Cubans to the shores of the United States during the past 200 years. Here, too, Cubans have participated and fought bravely in all of America's wars.

CUBANS IN DIPLOMACY: FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT

The Cuban tradition in diplomacy goes back to the American Revolution, when a long-standing Havana resident became the unofficial Spanish envoy to the 13 colonies.

Spain did not recognize the independence of the United States until after the war; therefore, the countries were not formal allies. However, Spain did send two diplomatic representatives to the 13 colonies. The Council of the Indies, headed by Minister José de Gálvez, uncle of Bernardo de Gálvez, accepted the recommendation of the captain general of Cuba, Diego José Navarro; it named Havana merchant Juan de Miralles as the first diplomat to the colonies.

Born in 1715 in Petrel, province of Alicante, Spain, Juan de Miralles had come to Cuba at a young age. He later married María Josefa Eligio de la Puente, who was a member of a prominent family in Cuba. Miralles became a respected and wealthy merchant, and he raised a large family. He spoke English and French well, and although already in his sixties, Miralles was asked to undertake an important diplomatic mission to the 13 colonies. He was not an ambassador, but rather a royal commissioner, and he served as an agent or observer between Spain and the colonies. His instructions were to look after the Spanish interests and report to the captain general of Cuba and the minister of the Indies in Spain.

On January 9, 1778, Miralles and his secretary, Francisco Rendón, born in Jerez de la Frontera, Spain, arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, where they were treated with great respect by Governor Edward Rutledge and other important leaders. Miralles remained in Charleston for a few months. He bought a ship and started trade between the two countries. He then traveled to North Carolina and held conversations with Governor Abner Nash. On May 28, Miralles arrived in Williamsburg, Virginia, where he was welcomed by Governor Patrick Henry and the House of Burgesses. Miralles discussed with the three southern governors the possibility of a joint attack on British Florida. Soon Miralles met all the important revolutionary leaders such as Laurens, Lee, and Randolph. Stopping at Baltimore, Miralles initiated additional trade with Cuba, and in July, Miralles arrived in Philadelphia and moved to a house that is no longer standing today, at 242 South Third Street.

The new Spanish royal commissioner at once started a series of conferences with members of the Continental Congress. He also coordinated his efforts with Sieur Conrad Alexander Gerard, the French ambassador, and later with his successor, the Chevalier de la Luzerne. His pleasant personality, elegance, culture, generosity, and ability to speak French and English in addition to his native tongue made Miralles a most popular individual in Philadelphia. Together with Robert Morris, the "financier of the American Revolution," Miralles established commerce between Philadelphia and Havana. As had the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Count of Aranda, Miralles became a strong supporter of the American revolutionary effort.

Miralles soon met General George Washington, and the two became great friends. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on November 12, 1778, that Miralles had purchased 48 reproductions of General Washington's portrait by Charles Willson Peale (Portell-Vilá, 1978, p. 68),

and that he had sent these portraits to high officials in Havana and Madrid along with letters praising General Washington. Later, he bought five reproductions of another Peale painting of General Washington completed after the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

In addition to the commercial activities among Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston and Havana, Miralles interceded on behalf of Spaniards captured by the British in New York as well as by American privateers. Miralles' friendship with General Washington was no doubt reinforced by the gifts the general frequently received from the Spanish diplomat. Miralles sent wine, chocolates, granulated sugar, guava paste, lemons, medicine, turtle meat, and jewelry received from Cuba to General Washington, his staff, and their wives at a time when Congress could not or would not assist the army. However, the efforts of Miralles to persuade the Continental Congress to raise an army to attack British Florida were dashed, as the American forces were defeated by the British in Charleston.

General and Mrs. Washington demonstrated their high regard for Juan de Miralles when the diplomat became seriously ill while visiting the general at Morristown, together with the French Ambassador La Luzerne. Both General and Mrs. Washington personally cared for the terminally ill diplomat. Miralles died on April 28, 1780, and General Washington presided over the magnificent funeral.

The general wrote to Marshall Diego Navarro, the captain general of Cuba, on April 30, 1780:

> Your Excellency will have the goodness to believe, that I took pleasure in performing every friendly office to him during his illness, and that no care or attention in our power was omitted toward his comfort or restoration. I the more sincerely sympathize with you in the loss of so estimable a friend, as, ever since his residence with us, I have been happy in ranking him among the number of mine. It must, however, be some consolation to his connections to know that in this country he has been universally regretted...(Martínez, 1987, pp. 20-21).

Miralles' secretary, Francisco Rendón, succeeded him to head the diplomatic post. He continued to work closely with General Washington, exchanged military information, and expanded trade between Cuba and the colonies. Rendón lived in the same Third Street house as had Miralles. At the end of 1781, Rendón offered his house to General Washington, who gladly accepted the invitation.

In 1967, the Spanish government placed a plaque on the house that replaced the original Miralles/Rendón residence at 242 South Third Street in Philadelphia. It reads:

> On this site stood the home, 1778-1780, of Juan de Miralles (1715-1780), the first Spanish diplomatic representative to the United States of America. He died on April 28, 1780, while visiting General Washington at his Morristown Headquarters. The same home became the residence of his successor, Francisco Rendón, who lent it to General Washington for the winter of 1781-1782. Through these officials, Spanish military and financial assistance was channeled to the American Patriots. Tribute from the Government of Spain, 1967 (Fernández, 1985, p. 14).

Rendón, after traveling extensively through the United States, became *Intendente de Hacienda* (treasury official) in Zacatecas, Mexico, where he lived for the rest of his life. The final resting place for Juan de Miralles was the crypt of the Iglesia del Espíritu Santo in Havana, Cuba.

Havana resident Juan de Miralles was the first diplomat to deal with the United States. He, of course, represented Spanish and Cuban merchants in Havana. In the twentieth century, six Cuban Americans have served in the United States Foreign Service. The first Cuban American to become a United States diplomat was William Elliott Gonzáles (1866-1937). He served as United States ambassador to Cuba from 1913 to 1919 and to Peru from 1920 to 1921. Gonzáles, a resident of South Carolina, is probably related to Ambrosio González, who served as a colonel of the Confederacy in that state during the Civil War.

John Joseph Jova (1916-) has served three terms as ambassador. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson appointed him ambassador to Honduras, where he remained until 1969. He served the Nixon administration as the ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS) from 1969 to 1974. President Nixon also named Jova ambassador to Mexico, and he held that post from 1974 to 1977.

President Ronald Reagan appointed four Cuban Americans to diplomatic posts. The President selected Dr. Alberto Martínez Piedra (1926-), a college professor, as ambassador to Guatemala in 1984. Dr. Piedra resigned his post in 1988. In 1986, President Reagan appointed Otto Juan Reich (1945-), a former city of Miami administrator, as ambassador to Venezuela, where he is currently serving. In 1981, Reagan named Dr. José Sorzano, a Georgetown University professor, as a diplomat in the United Nations serving under Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. Later, President Reagan named Sorzano to the post of Latin American specialist of the National Security Council in the White House, a position he

resigned in May 1988. Ambassador Sorzano resigned because he favored a hard line toward the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, a position no longer favored by General Colin Powell, National Security Council advisor, and his deputy John Negroponte (*Diario Las Americas*, May 18, 1988, p. 1-A). President Reagan named Armando Valladares as United States delegate to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva in 1987. Valladares, a poet and a world-renowned human rights activist, had spent 22 years in prison in Cuba. Upon his release, he wrote *Against All Hope*, a book that documents the inhumanity and brutality of the communist prison system in Cuba.

From Miralles to Valladares, Cuban Americans have played a role in the nation's foreign affairs.

CUBAN-AMERICAN ARTISTS

Cuban painters became known in the United States in the late 1930s. The Cuban national school of painting was known for the explosion of colors. Daniel Serra Badué (1914-) held an exhibition entitled "Modern Cuban Painters" in New York City in 1944. Painters such as Carlos Enríquez (1901-1957), Mario Carreño (1913-), Cundo Bermúdez (1914-), Felipe Orlando (1911-), and Amelia Pelaéz (1896-1968) became known in the United States (Ripoll, 1987, p. 23). The work of Amelia Pelaéz is currently being shown again in the United States. After an exhibition of Pelaéz's paintings at the Cuban Museum in Miami, curator Giulio Blanc presented her work at the Latin America Modern Art Museum of the Organization of American States (OAS) in September 1988 in Washington, D.C. The general secretary of OAS, Joao Clemente Baena Soares, inaugurated the exhibit, which was called "Amelia Pelaéz 1896-1968: una retrospectiva," by saying that it was very appropriate to exhibit Palaéz's work and that the exhibit was "a great prestige for the Museum . . . where all artistic expressions of Latin American and the Caribbean should be represented." The director of the Museum stated that "Amelia Pelaéz is one of the most important artists of Latin America and her work should be in the universal art history" (*El Nuevo Herald*, September 16, 1988, p. 1-C). Another painter whose work was shown in the United States was Wilfredo Lam (1901-1983). This artist lived in Chicago in 1958 (Ripoll, 1987, p. 23). Since art extols freedom and cannot flourish without it, Castro's revolution halted the growth and development of art in Cuba. Now Cuban artists looked toward the school of Paris for inspiration and leadership, combining their own exuberance and energy of the tropics in painting, sculpture, and drawing. However, there are few artists left in Cuba; most are in exile or are deceased.

The artists in exile express through their art the feelings of being uprooted and torn from their familiar surroundings. These emotions and observations are keenly felt by artists because of their great sensitivity to details of life. Common themes in their work are the search for identity, a deep attachment to childhood memories, and sometimes even nostalgia. The isolation felt by those who leave their homeland, even when very young, is augmented by the change of language, customs, and even food. The shift of the known—one's own neighborhood, climate, way of life—is shocking at first, but these feelings are also stimulating, leading to creative expression and a desire to share and express emotions and experiences through a variety of images, techniques, and media.

The articulation of form—line, shape, and color—in a very expressive way is becoming characteristic of the work of Cuban-American artists. It is the common language that has cast aside the language barrier and has made their work artistically significant and socially relevant.

Although art by Cuban Americans is not well-known or exhibited frequently in the United States, the following artists have had many exhibitions, awards, and commissions. These artists represent a minuscule number of the fine Cuban-American artists working and expressing themselves in the United States today.

Rafael Consuegra was born in Havana in 1941 and went into exile in 1960. He settled in Miami and in 1971 graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in fine arts. Consuegra has taught ceramics and sculpture at Miami-Dade Community College and at Barry University, sharing his talents and skills with many young artists. He exhibits constantly and receives numerous awards and prizes. He has been commissioned to execute murals and sculptures for public sites. His ceramics are especially imaginative in concept and complicated in structure by the addition of beautifully constructed antenna-like appendages.

Carlos Alfonzo arrived in Miami in 1980 via the Mariel boat lift. While in Cuba, Alfonzo exhibited art and taught art and art history. After arriving in Miami, he continued to work and exhibit his new work. Alfonzo's compositions are large and free-flowing, full of expressive force. The symbols found in his work are drawn from the Afro-Cuban religious tradition depicting eyes, lips, knives, and masks. Alfonzo was commissioned by the Art in Public Places Foundation in Miami to execute a ceramic tile mural for a new Metrorail station in Miami.

Ramón Carulla, born in Havana and exiled to Miami in 1961, has exhibited widely in the United States. A self-taught artist, Carulla uses the human figure in a unique way. Carulla's work has evolved toward the representation of the human figure, using collaged elements blend-

ed in with painted surfaces. This technique has given his work symbolic content.

María Brito-Avellana, born in Havana in 1947 and living in Miami since she was 18, creates sculptures that are symbolic of environments or specific settings. Avellana's sculptures are surrounded with an aura of mystery and deep personal meaning evoking symbols from her childhood. Avellana has stated that her work deals with abstract elements—emotions, feelings, sensations—found in a constant search into herself. The imagery she uses is symbolic of her findings. Ideas for a particular work, according to the artist, emerge intuitively and initially materialize into a loose and informal sketch. Commenting on her work, Avellana says that rarely does the final outcome resemble the initial drawing. As the three-dimensional piece begins to take shape, more complete ideas are dictated by the work itself. In regard to materials that she uses in her sculptures, Avellana says that some are bought and many are found. The artist finds it very satisfying to witness the transformation of a found object as it assumes an entirely different presence when placed within the context of a particular work. María Brito-Avellana has received many awards for study and development and has been commissioned by the Executive Committee of the Olympiad to create a sculpture for permanent display in the Olympic Sculpture Park in Seoul, Korea, as a gift from the United States in 1988.

Carlos Macías, born in Havana in 1951, reached Miami in 1961 and attended public schools there. Macías entered Barry University with the idea of becoming a priest, but his interest in and exploration of art, especially drawing, led him instead into a career in the visual arts. His mural-like works depicting buildings are rich in texture and detail; his prints and beautiful drawings are based on religious themes.

Demi is a visual artist who left Cuba after her father was executed as a political prisoner in 1962. She was only six years old at the time. Shortly after that, Demi and her family came to the United States. Demi grew up in Miami and has worked as a painter. She draws on her childhood for inspiration. Children surrounded by simple objects are her main theme, connoting beauty, danger, and mystery. Demi has exhibited extensively in the United States.

Enrique Riverón was born in Cuba in 1902. Until 1950, this artist earned his living and reputation as a caricaturist and illustrator. In Havana, he organized a society of caricaturists that held its first public exhibition in 1921. Awarded an art scholarship in 1924 to study in Europe, Riverón spent one year in Madrid, Spain, and another year in Paris, France. He became involved in the intellectual life of these European cities and came to design stage settings and costumes for the theater. Riverón later settled in New York City, where he became a contributor to *Life* and *The New Yorker*. For a time he also worked for the Walt Disney Studios in Los Angeles. Riverón, who has exhibited widely, has been an expressionist artist until recent years, when he has made a return to figurative art. His caricatures—serious or humorous—show a great deal of detail and a fine flow of line.

Born in Havana in 1922, José M. Mijares graduated from the well-known San Alejandro Academy in Cuba. By the time he left his homeland for the United States, Mijares had participated in prestigious group and solo exhibitions such as the 1953 Sao Paolo Biennial, the Carnegie International in Pittsburgh, and the Venice Biennial. Seeking freedom of artistic expression, Mijares moved in 1968 to Miami, where he became an important member of the city's artistic circles. He had a number of solo shows not only in Miami but also in Washington, D.C., and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Born in Matanzas, Cuba, in 1920, Rafael Soriano is a disciplined, methodical master painter whose work has always depicted bright, clear coloring. Soriano went into exile in 1962 and has lived in Miami, Florida, ever since. In Miami, Soriano took over the layout of the magazine *Mecánica Popular* until he retired to devote himself entirely to painting. Soriano's paintings are masses of imaginative shapes with very soft outlines. He creates a unique transparency and a monochromatic luminosity in his work.

Another artist, Lilia García, born in Havana in 1951, came to the United States at the age of 11. Garcia graduated from the University of Miami with a bachelor's degree in fine arts. Later, she received a master's degree in art education from Florida International University. García taught art in the public schools in Miami for 14 years. She combined her artistic talent and her love for young people in a strong art curriculum that introduced a variety of projects. Murals on the walls of public places and art exhibits throughout the community are only a few of the many projects used by García to influence her young charges. García was promoted to art supervisor of the Dade County Public School system, the fourth largest in the nation. She is responsible for the art program from kindergarten through twelfth grade and for adult education. She is the first Cuban American to hold this position in a major urban school district in the United States.

CUBAN WRITERS IN THE UNITED STATES: A LONG TRADITION

The first and foremost of the Cuban writers in the United States is Cuba's most beloved patriot, José Martí (1853-1895). Martí lived in New York City for almost 15 years and during that time wrote many articles, poems,

short stories, and a novel. Carlos Ripoll stated: "Neither before nor after Martí has anyone contributed so much to familiarizing Latin America with the United States. His brilliant, talented writings acquainted Latin Americans with the most diverse scenes of North American life" (Ripoll, 1987, pp. 12-13).

Prior to José Martí, other exiles wrote in the United States. José María Heredia (1803-1839), one of Cuba's best poets, published poetry in New York in the 1820s. Arriving in New York at about the same time was Father Félix Varela (1788-1853), the most famous intellectual of his time in Cuba. Varela's opposition to Spanish rule in Cuba, like Heredia's, forced him to leave the island. Father Varela published many articles in Catholic and Cuban revolutionary newspapers and various books on philosophy, which were used in Cuban and Latin American universities. Additionally, Father Varela founded a children's nursery, an orphanage, three schools, a hospital, and two churches.

Poets Domingo Delmonte (1804-1853) and Juan Clemente Zenea (1832-1871) wrote and publicized American literature in the Spanish world while they lived in the United States. *El Laud del Desterrado* (The Outcast's Lute), a book of poems, was published in New York in 1858 by Juan Clemente Zenea, Miguel Teurbe Tolón, Pedro Santacilia, and Pedro Angel Castellón. Another book of poems was *Arpas Amigas* (Friendly Harps), published in 1879 by Enrique José de Varona, Diego Vicente Tejera, Esteban Borrero Echevarría, and José Varela Zequeira and his brother Antonio (Mario, 1987, January 7).

There were several Cuban writers who lived part of their lives in the American nation during their island's long struggle against Spain. Among these were José Antonio Saco (1797-1879) and Gaspar Cisneros Betancourt (1803-1866). One of Cuba's greatest novels, *Cecilia Valdés*, was published in New York in 1882 by its author, Cirilo Vilaverde (1812-1894). Néstor Ponce de León (1837-1899) edited many books by Cuban writers and published the *English/Spanish Technological Dictionary*. Carlos Loveira (1882-1928) was both a novelist and a labor union leader. He wrote novels on social issues and worked with Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. Enrique José de Varona (1849-1933) replaced Martí in 1895 as editor of *Patria*, the official organ of the Cuban Revolutionary Party. There were many other Cuban journalists and writers who lived and worked in the United States during the nineteenth century (Ripoll, 1987, pp. 12-19). Present-day Cuban-American writers have a rich tradition to build upon. Many well-known Cuban writers, such as Reynaldo Arenas, Lydia Cabrera, Hilda Perera, and Heberto Padilla, now live in the United States. Hilda Perera is a most successful novelist. Her novel, *El Sitio de Nadie* (No Man's Land), won the *Premio Planeta* of Spain in 1975. She also won the *Premio Nacional de Literatura Infantil* (National Award for Children's Literature Lazarillo) of Spain with her children's story *Cuento para Chicos y Grandes* (Stories for Youth and Adults) in 1978. Later Perera wrote *Kike*, a story of a Cuban refugee child who grows up in Miami, and *Mai*, a story of a Vietnamese girl who is adopted by a Cuban family in Miami. Both books have sold 30,000 copies and are used in Spanish schools. Other children's books are *La Pata Pita* (A Duck Called Pita) and *La Pata Vuelve* (The Return of Pita the Duck). Perera's most recent novel is *Los Robledal*. Heberto Padilla's novel, *En Mi Jardín Pastan los Héroes* (Heroes Graze in My Garden), has also been quite popular. Other writers came to the United States when they were young and grew up in a bilingual setting. Caroline Hospital explains that the Cuban-American writer, regardless of where he/she grows up, has the same conflicts and need to search for identity as other Hispanic-American writers in the United States. Cuban-American writers search for answers to their sense of duality, separation, and loss.

Currently, Cuban-American poets are actively working and producing great poetry. The *El Indice Biográfico de Autores Cubanos* (Biographic Index of Cuban Authors) (1959-1979), written by José and Roberto Fernández and published by Ediciones Universal in Miami, is a most important guide for locating the work of hundreds of Cuban-American poets and writers. Prior to that publication, Matías Montes Huidobro and Yara González had published their *Bibliografía Crítica de la Poesía Cubana* (Critical Bibliography of Cuban Poetry) in 1973. Darío Espina, assisted by Mercedes García Tudurí, Rolando Espinosa, Oscar Pérez Moro, Oscar Guerra, and Luis Mario have directed the *Antología Poética Hispanoamericana* (Anthology of Hispanic-American Poetry). Other contemporary Cuban-American poets are: Juana Barrero, Sara Martínez Castro, Pura del Prado, José Sanchez Boudy, José Kozer, and Luis Angel Casas. Agustín Acosta, who was given the title of "National Poet of Cuba," died in Miami on March 11, 1979. He had arrived in the United States seven years prior to his death. In Miami, he published two books of poems: *El Apóstol y Su Isla* (The Apostle and His Island) in 1974 and *Trigo De La Luna* (Moon Wheat) in 1978. Luis Mario of the *Diario Las Américas* has published a daily section called "The Poem of the Day" since 1974. Seven hundred and thirty-one Cuban-American poets, as well as Latin American poets, have had their poems published on the pages of this newspaper (Mario, 1987, January 7).

Caroline Hospital provides the following list of young

writers and poets, though she admits there are many others. Among the poets are Luis Mario, Jorge Guitart, Ricardo Pau-Llosa, Octavio Armand, Pablo Medina, Gustavo Pérez Firmat, Esperanza Rabido, Luisa Ymayo, and Mercedes Limón. Among the writers of prose are: María del Carmen Boza, Raquél Puig Zaldívar, Luisa Gil, Achy Obejas, Damian Fernández, Elías Miguel Muñoz, and Roberto Fernández. Writers who came during the Mariel influx are: Reynaldo Arenas, Miguel Correa, Roberto Valero, and Carlos Victoria (Hospital, 1987, pp. 2-3). Some of Reynaldo Arenas' best known novels are: *El Mundo Alucinante* (The Fascinating World), *El Palacio de las Blanquísimas Mofetas* (The Palace of the Very White Skunks), *Otra Vez el Mar* (Again the Sea), *La Loma del Angel* (Angel's Hill), and *Persecución* (Persecution), a work of drama.

The first novel written in English about the Cuban community in Miami was published in 1988. Written by Roberto Fernández, *Raining Backwards* is a sarcastic but affectionate work about Cubans in Miami. This is the fourth novel written by Fernández and published by Arte Público Press of the University of Houston. His other books are: *Cuentos Sin Rumbos* (Stories without Destiny), published in 1975; *La Vida es un Especial* (Life Is Special), 1982; and *La Montaña Rusa* (The Roller Coaster), 1985.

Among the Cuban-American writers who are also educators are José Sanchez-Boudy and Berta Savariego. They are coauthors of a text of recent publications in which poems originally written in Ladino in Hebrew characters are transcribed into modern Spanish. Together, they have presented papers on the subject in national language conferences. In addition, a collection of Sephardic poems and short stories by Dr. Savariego with an introduction by Sanchez-Boudy is now in the process of publication. This work is the first Sephardic fiction by a Cuban writer. Dr. Sanchez-Boudy, who teaches at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, is best known for his work as a critic and a novelist. His trilogy of novels, *Los Cruzados de la Aurora* (The Crusaders of the Dawn), *Orbus Terrarum*, and *Los Sarracenos del Ocaso* (The Moslems of the Sunset), is well known for its innovative literary techniques. Dr. Savariego, also a novelist, works for Dade County Public Schools in the development of programs for adults and minorities.

Cuban-American writers, as well as Hispanic writers, have yet to join the mainstream of American literature. The message of these writers is important and should be heard by all. Just like Jewish writers or writers from the American South who have certain points of view or experiences that are valuable, the Cuban-American writers have many things to share. Their works will enrich our multiethnic, multicultural society.

CUBAN EDUCATORS FROM 1787 TO THE PRESENT

The first public integrated school in the United States was founded by the Spaniards in 1787 in St. Augustine. The school was supported by funds from the royal treasury, and it was open without charge to all children. Attendance was compulsory for whites and optional for blacks. Teachers were told to treat blacks the same as whites. However, blacks were placed apart from whites, in seats near the door. It is believed that the school admitted boys only.

The first teacher selected was Father Francisco Traconis, a native of Santiago de Cuba, a city in the eastern part of Cuba. Thus, Father Traconis had the distinction of being the first teacher of an integrated public school in the nation. The priest was in charge of the primary grades. Father Traconis' health deteriorated, and he returned to Cuba in 1791, after four years of service.

Another Cuban priest, Félix Varela, who also was in poor health, taught in the parochial school of St. Augustine in the last years of his life. In fact, Félix Varela may have had Father Traconis as his teacher or at least may have met him before Traconis left for Cuba. Varela had lost both his father and mother by the age of six. His grandfather was promoted to the rank of brevet colonel, and on August 2, 1791, he was made commander of the Third Battalion of the Regiments of Cubans in St. Augustine. He took with him young Félix and an unmarried daughter, Rita Morales, who brought up the lad. Varela attended the Spanish school in St. Augustine until he was 14 years old and then returned to Cuba to continue his education. Félix Varela lived and worked as a priest in New York City for 25 years. With his own money and donations, Father Varela purchased Christ Church and the Church of the Transfiguration in New York City. He founded a parochial school for boys and girls next to the Christ Church. He hired teachers and taught some of the classes himself. In addition to the three R's, Father Varela's school offered grammar, music, needlework, French, and Spanish (McCadden, 1969, pp. 78-79). Father Varela led an exemplary life by assisting the Catholic immigrants in New York City at a time of great discrimination and violence against Catholics. He also founded a day nursery and orphanage. Father Varela was appointed vicar-general of the Diocese of New York. When his health deteriorated, he moved to St. Augustine. Varela was given a room behind the parochial school and there, like Father Traconis before him, he taught children and played the violin for them. In 1853, he died poor and almost blind and was buried in the Tolomato Cemetery next to the grave of his aunt, Rita Morales, with whom he had lived as a child in St. Augustine and who he considered his "second mother."

José María Heredia and José Martí both taught Spanish

in New York City while they wrote poetry and short stories and did translations. Cirilo Villaverde, author of *Cecilia Valdés*, and his wife, Emilia Casanova, founded a school in Oak Point, New York. Tomás Estrada Palma, the first president of an independent Cuba, ran a school in Central Valley, New York, for many years. Miguel Teube Tolón, who designed the Cuban national emblem, taught Spanish, as did many other Cuban patriots such as Francisco J. Estrampes and Luis Felipe Mantilla. The communist revolution in Cuba brought to the United States thousands of professionals, among them educators. Many began working as teachers in the early 1960s; others studied education in American universities and joined the teaching ranks.

The Dade County Public Schools have over 2,000 Cuban-American teachers. Some have moved up to the administrative ladder and have occupied important positions in the school district. Elvira Dopico, who became the first Cuban American appointed to the position of principal, area director, and area superintendent, works as associate superintendent of the Bureau of Human Resource Development. Dopico is responsible for the inservice education of all district employees. This writer became the first Cuban American appointed adult education principal and junior high school principal. He followed Cuban-born Piedad Bucholtz as senior high principal, area director, and area superintendent. He also became the first Cuban American appointed associate superintendent of the Bureau of Education and as such has the responsibility for the instructional program from kindergarten to grade 12 and for adult/vocational education. Octavio Visiedo is assistant superintendent in the Office of Desegregation. In this capacity, he oversees the district's desegregation efforts and is responsible for school boundary adjustments as well as student transfers. Roger Cuevas is the assistant superintendent of Project Student at Risk. Cuevas is responsible for the district dropout, drug, suicide, and pregnancy prevention efforts. George Balsa replaced Maggie Manrara as assistant superintendent of Office of Management Audits. This position directs the internal auditing operations of the school system. Carol Cortés replaced this writer, Frank de Varona, as assistant superintendent for Area Operations (this position was formerly known as area superintendent) of one of the four geographical areas of the Dade County Public Schools. Four other Cuban Americans serve as area directors in each of the four area offices. They are Magaly Acosta, Margarita Alemany, Nelson Díaz, and Emilio Fox. Three Cuban Americans served as district curriculum supervisors: Lilia García, art; Mercedes Toural, English for speakers of other languages, (Toural replaced Rosa Inclán, who now works in the Bureau of Human Resource Development); and Alberto Fernández, mentally handicapped. There are ten Cuban American coordinators who work at the district and area offices in bilingual education.

Piedad Bucholtz and this writer once served as senior high principals, but in 1988 there were no Cuban Americans serving in this position in the Dade County Public Schools. There are, however, 7 Cuban Americans serving as middle/junior high principals and 20 serving as elementary principals. Many Cuban Americans serve as assistant principals and in other administrative positions in the various departments of the Dade County Public Schools.

The Los Angeles Unified School District, the nation's second largest school system, has four Cuban-American principals. Three are elementary principals, and one serves in a senior high. Marta Labat Bin is the principal of Belmont High School, which has the largest enrollment of any high school in the nation.

Dr. Modesto Maidique became the first Cuban American appointed to the faculty of a major state university in the nation when he was appointed to Florida International University in Miami in 1986. Another Cuban American, Piedad Robertson, was appointed president of Bunker Hill Community College in Boston in August 1988. Piedad Robertson served as vice president of Miami Dade Community College for several years. Dr. Eduardo Padron works as vice president of one of the campuses of Miami Dade Community College located in Miami's downtown area. There are thousands of Cuban professors serving in junior colleges, colleges, and universities from coast to coast. From Francisco Traconis to the present, Cuban educators for over 200 years have taught and operated schools and colleges throughout the nation.

CUBAN AMERICANS IN THE MOVIE AND TELEVISION INDUSTRIES

For many years, the movie and later the television industries neglected the Hispanic community. Hispanics were often portrayed in stereotypical roles such as "Latin lover," "submissive woman," "lazy, filthy hombres," and "bandidos."

Talented Hispanic actors and actresses were told they could not succeed in Hollywood with an Hispanic name or identity. Such was the case of Rita Hayworth. Born in New York City in 1918 under the name of Margarita Carmen Cansino, Rita Hayworth was taught to dance at the age of four by her father, Eduardo Cansino, a flamenco dancer from Seville, Spain. In order to succeed in the motion picture business, Hayworth adopted a non-Hispanic name and dyed her hair red. She starred in 60 pictures from 1935 to 1971 and became a glamorous and famous actress. Practically no one knew of Hayworth's

Hispanic heritage. When Rita Hayworth died in 1987, President Ronald Reagan stated that she "was one of our country's most beloved stars; glamorous and talented, she gave us many wonderful moments on stage and screen and delighted audiences from the time she was a young girl" (The *Miami Herald*, 1987, p. 1-A). Other Hispanic entertainers also adopted an Anglo identity and name to make it in the business. The daughter of a Bolivian mining engineer, Raquel Tejada, became Raquel Welch. Mexican American Ramón Estévez believed that an Irish name would be more marketable in Hollywood and he became Martin Sheen. Three of Sheen's children are talented entertainers. Two of them reverted to the use of the Spanish last name; one did not. Emilio and his sister Renee are using the Estevez' family name; Charlie kept the Sheen name. It is unfortunate that millions of Hispanics were—and still are—deprived of successful role models by the movie industry. However, more and more Hispanic actors and actresses are keeping their Spanish names, even though this practice is perceived by some as a liability to their careers; hopefully, this trend will continue.

A recent study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs in Washington, D.C., reported that although blacks have moved into the mainstream of prime-time television, Hispanics continue to be placed in demeaning roles. The Center study showed that Hispanics get starring prime-time roles half as frequently as blacks or whites and that Hispanic characters commit twice as many crimes as whites and three times as many as blacks. Good roles are few and far between for Hispanic entertainers. There are some indications that Hispanics are going to be taken more seriously in the future, especially due to the financial success of recent movies such as *La Bamba*, *The Milagro Beanfield War*, and *Stand and Deliver*, all of which featured Hispanics.

Early Pioneers

César Romero, an actor of Cuban descent born in the United States and, according to some, a grandson of Cuban patriot José Martí, was one of the first Cuban Americans to succeed in Hollywood. Desi Arnáz (1917-1986), a Cuban-born musician who was married for many years to Lucille Ball, starred in the popular "I Love Lucy" television series during the 1950s and 1960s. Arnaz had been taken to Miami at the age of 15 by his father, a political exile. As a sergeant in the army during World War II, Arnaz worked with the USO as an entertainer. Later, the "I Love Lucy" shows were seen by millions. Desi Arnaz and Lucille Ball had two children, Desi Jr. and Lucy, who have performed in the theater and acted in motion pictures. Another pioneer and the founder of the movie industry in Cuba was Ernesto Caparrós, who was born in Havana in 1907. In 1936, he produced, directed, photographed, and edited *La Serpiente Roja* (The Red Serpent), the first sound picture in Cuba. Caparrós came to live in New York City in 1941. He worked at Universal pictures as a Spanish news editor for several years. Caparrós then returned to Cuba, where he produced several films. In 1960, he left Cuba for the last time. He worked as artistic director, sound engineer, editor, and photographer, and he produced a series of television commercials and shows as well as documentaries and movies. Caparrós was nominated for an Oscar in 1962 for his work as director of photography in the movie *The Miracle Worker*, starring Anne Bancroft. He is now retired and lives in New York City (Lean, 1987, p. 6).

Cuban Movies in Exile

A number of movies have been produced by Cubans in the United States without the help of Hollywood producers and directors. These movies have dealt with Cuba and the Cuban experience in the United States. Due to their lack of money, these independent producers paid the actors very little and faced almost insurmountable obstacles in the making of movies. *Los Gusanos* (The Worms, 1977) was one of the first movies made by Cubans in the United States. Produced by Danilo Bardisa and written and directed by Camilo Vila, *Los Gusanos* is a film about a failed anti-communist attack in Cuba. Reymundo Hidalgo Gato plays the part of the cruel communist lieutenant.

Guaguasí (1978), directed by Jorge Ulla and produced by Danilo Bardisa, tells the story of a simple peasant who joined Castro's army and was corrupted by the Revolutionary regime. The film was nominated for an Academy Award for best foreign film. Orestes Matacena, Reymundo Hidalgo Gato, Marilyn Puppo, and Rolando Barral star in this movie about sexual innocence and the corruption of power.

El Super (1979) was widely acclaimed by foreign movie critics. It won seven international awards, including the Grand Prix in the Mannheim International Film Festival in Germany. With a small budget, Cuban directors Orlando Jiménez Leal and León Ichaso adapted a play from Iván Acosta of a Cuban family struggling in New York City. Elizabeth Peña, Zuly Montero, Reymundo Hidalgo Gato, and Reynaldo Medica appeared in the film.

Amigos (Friends, 1985), directed by Iván Acosta and produced by Marcelino Miyares, tells the story of a "marielito's" struggles with life in Miami. Rubén Rabasa plays the refugee who finds freedom, friends, and an old girlfriend in Miami. Also acting in the movie are Reynaldo Medina, Lucy Pereda, Armando Naser, Lillian Hurst, and Luisa Gil.

Two short films were made about Mariel Cubans in 1980. The first one, *En sus Propias Palabras* (In Their Own Words), began as an assignment of the United States Information Agency concerning the arrival of Cubans in the Mariel influx. Cubans report their views of the communist system they have just left. A moving interview is conducted with writer Reynaldo Arenas. The second short film dealing with Mariel Cubans, *Ciudad de las Carpas* (Tent City), was directed by Miñuca Villaverde. This movie dealt with 7,000 Cubans from Mariel who lived in tents under the I-95 Expressway in Miami for weeks after their arrival in Florida.

Néstor Almendros and Orlando Jiménez Leal's *Conducta Impropia*, (Improper Conduct, 1984) received the Grand Prix award of the International Human Rights Movie Festival that year. Another movie dealing with human rights abuses was *La Otra Cuba* (The Other Cuba, 1985). This film, directed by Orlando Jiménez Leal, documents the betrayal of the Cuban revolution by Castro.

A more recent film is *Crossover Dreams* (1985), directed by León Ichaso. This film stars Rubén Blades and Elizabeth Peña and is the story of an Hispanic entertainer who wishes to join the mainstream (Spinella, 1987, p. 6).

Cuban Americans in Hollywood Today

Several young Cuban-American actors and actresses are finding success in the motion picture industry and are playing more Hispanic roles. Rocky Echevarria met his first success in the popular public television series "¿Que Pasa U.S.A.?" (What's Happening U.S.A.?). He moved to Hollywood, and like other Hispanic actors, he changed his name to Steve Bauer. He starred in pictures such as *Scarface* and *Thief of Hearts*.

Andy Garcia, who lived in Miami until 1979, has appeared in *The Mean Season*; more recently, he has appeared in *The Untouchables* with Robert de Niro and Sean Connery and in *Clinton and Nadine* with Ellen Burstyn.

Three Cuban-American women are finding success in Hollywood and receiving better parts in films. In 1987, 19-year-old Trini Alvarado made *Sweet Lorraine*. Previously, Alvarado had appeared in the play *Runaways* and in the motion picture *Rich Kids*.

Elizabeth Peña began appearing in the theater at a very young age. She starred in *El Super* and then was given roles in Hollywood and television movies. Peña appeared with Dick Van Dyke in *Sam and Max*, a television movie. Later, she starred with Rubén Blades in *Crossover Dreams*, a movie directed by León Ichaso. More recently, Elizabeth Peña has been seen in *Down and Out in Beverly Hills*, *Batteries Not Included*, and *La Bamba*. The last movie is about the life of an Hispanic rock n' roller, Ritchie Valens (Richard Valenzuela), who disappeared in a plane crash in 1959. Valens wrote "La Bamba" and many other popular songs. *La Bamba* has been one of Peña's most successful films, having grossed $55 million in ticket sales as of September 1988.

María Conchita Alonso, another Cuban-born entertainer, has met success as both singer and actress. She fled from Cuba with her parents when she was five years old and settled in Venezuela. Alonso became a well-known rock and roll singer and appeared in many television soap operas in that country. In 1981, she left for Los Angeles where she obtained small parts on "Fantasy Island" and "Knight Rider." With hard work and perseverance, she became successful in the motion picture industry and musical world. Her singing career is booming. In her new album, *Mirame* (Look at Me), she sings romantic and rock songs. Alonso completed a five-month musical tour (June-November 1988) that took her to Mexico, Honduras, Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and several cities in the United States. She was nominated for a Grammy award for best singer in popular Hispanic music for "Otra Mentira Más" (Another Lie) and for her album *María Conchita*.

Equally successful has been Alonso's motion picture career. Her latest film, *Vampire Kiss* with Nicholas Cage, is a black comedy/drama. Other films have been: *Moscow on the Hudson* with Robin Williams, *Extreme Prejudice* with Nick Nolte, *Colors* with Robert Duvall and Sean Penn, *Running Man* with Arnold Schwarzenegger, *Touch and Go* with Michael Keaton, and *A Fine Mess* with Ted Danson.

There are many Cuban-American actors and actresses who have played minor roles in Hollywood movies and television programs such as "Miami Vice." Among them are Pedro de Pool, Rubén Rabasa, Osvaldo Calvo, Mario Ernesto Sánchez, and María Teresa Rojas.

Pedro de Pool, who was born in Havana, Cuba, in 1945, has had a long career in radio and television in Miami and in Panama as anchor, announcer, and program director. He has had small parts in several motion pictures. Among them are *Tin Mac*; *Why Color Girls Commit Suicide*; *Invasion U.S.A.* with Chuck Norris; *Midnight Crossing* with Faye Dunaway; and *Clinton and Nadine*, a television movie also starring Andy Garcia and Ellen Burstyn. De Pool has also appeared in television programs such as "Miami Vice." Currently de Pool is cohost of the popular program "Sábado Gigante," which airs from coast to coast in the United States and in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Cuban Filmmakers

Besides Ernesto Caparros, there are many other Cuban and Cuban-American filmmakers today. Néstor Almendros, who was born in Barcelona, Spain, and who

moved to Cuba when he was 18, is one of the best known. As director of photography, he has worked on many films. Among them are: *The Collectionist* (1967); *The Little Savage* (1970); *The Story of Adele H* (1975); *Days of Heaven* (1978) (Almendros received an Oscar for this film); *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979); *The Last Metro* (1980); *Sophie's Choice* (1982); and more recently, *Nadie Quiere Escuchar*, a documentary on communist Cuba.

Saba Cabrera was born in Cuba in 1935. He left Cuba in 1964 and lived in Europe. Two years later, he moved to New York City. Together with Orlando Jiménez Leal, he made a short film, *P.M.*, in Cuba in 1961. This film was censored by the government of Cuba.

Born in Havana in 1939, Fausto Canel has worked in films in Cuba and Europe. He worked on *Power Game* with John Finch and Catororia McColl. He lives in Miami and edits films.

Iván Acosta was born in Cuba in 1943 and escaped from the island in a boat in 1961. He has written many plays and screenplays. His best known play, *El Super*, was made into a movie. Acosta worked as program director of a television station in Chicago for three years. Most recently, he wrote and directed the movie *Amigos*.

León Ichaso was born in Cuba in 1948 and left for the United States in 1963. He codirected *El Super* and produced *Fat Angels*. Ichaso has written skits for "Saturday Night Live" and has directed episodes for the television programs "Miami Vice," "The Equalizer," and "Crime Stories."

Orlando Jiménez Leal was born in Havana in 1941. He worked on the film *P.M.* After coming to the United States, Jiménez Leal codirected *El Super* and made a documentary entitled *The Other Cuba*.

Orestes Matacena was born in Cuba and moved to Miami, where he founded Theater 66, the city's first Spanish Theater company. He was the main actor in *The Worms* and *Guaguasi*. Matacena founded a movie company, Cardinal Pictures, and wrote, produced, and directed his first film, *Tainted*.

Jorge Ulla was born in Havana, Cuba, in 1948. He has made *Guaguasi* and the two documentaries *In Their Own Words* and *Nadie Quiere Escuchar*. Born in Havana in 1958, Camilo Vila made *Little Rain* and *The Worms*. He produced Acosta's *Amigos*. Vila directed *The Unholy*.

Born in Cuba, Miñuca Villaverde worked as an actress and scriptwriter in her native country. She has produced several films; among them is *Tent City*.

Enrique Oliver, who was born in Cuba, worked on *Lola La Loca*, a feature film. Rafael Elortegui has worked as assistant director of numerous television programs and on the two movies *Harry and Son* and *Absence of Malice*.

Many Cuban Americans are producing, directing, editing, financing, and acting in films and television programs. It is encouraging that many movies deal with the Cuban experience in the United States and that many film stars are retaining their Hispanic names. It is also equally encouraging that these talented actors and actresses are playing more Hispanic roles and successfully competing with other famous film stars.

CUBAN AMERICANS IN POLITICS

The first Hispanic to be elected to a public office in the United States resided for several years in Cuba and died there at his plantation. As stated previously, Joseph Marion Hernández (1793-1857) was born in St. Augustine at a time when Florida belonged to Spain. His parents had immigrated to Florida from the Spanish island of Minorca. Hernández became the first Hispanic mayor in the nation when he was elected mayor of St. Augustine. He was the first to be elected to a territorial legislature and the first to serve in the United States Congress (1822-1823). In 1845, he ran unsuccessfully as the Whig Party candidate for the United States Senate. After his defeat, he moved to Cuba, where he owned and operated a sugarcane plantation.

The wars for Cuba's independence brought thousands of Cubans to the United States during the nineteenth century. Many of them settled in Florida, and some ran for public office. A Cuban settlement called Marti City elected a Cuban mayor and city council member. This city was near Ocala and was abandoned when the crops failed. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, Jr., the son of the president of the Cuban Revolutionary Republic, became mayor of Key West. Fernando Figueredo (1846-1929), a graduate of the School of Engineers in Troy, New York, became a member of the Florida state legislature, as well as superintendent of schools and mayor of West Tampa. Figueredo's descendants live in Miami today.

Cuban Americans in Florida's Legislature

As of September 1988, six Cuban-American men and two women were serving in Florida's legislature. It is possible that after the general elections in November 1988, this number will increase. All but one are members of the Republican Party. State representative Arnhilda González-Quevedo surprised her colleagues and members of her community when she announced her switch to the Democratic Party during a speech on the floor of the Florida house. González-Quevedo is not running for reelection. She worked effectively in Tallahassee for the last four years and passed several bills; among them were bills sponsoring scholarships in the names of Cuban patriot José Martí and black astronaut Ronald McNair, as well as a bill to regulate adult congregate living facilities. Among her other successful projects was the establishment of the Florida Commission on

International Education in 1986. González-Quevedo is an educator who served once as the state's supervisor for foreign language. She is currently working as interim director of the Hemisphere Policy Study Center in Miami, while on leave from her administrative position at Florida International University. In addition, she currently serves as chairperson of the Florida Commission on International Education.

The second woman legislator is Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. She served four years in the Florida House of Representatives and then was elected to the state Senate, where she has worked since 1986. Ros-Lehtinen was the first Cuban-American woman elected to the state legislature and the first and only Cuban American elected to the state Senate. This summer, she added another first to her career by introducing former Secretary of State Alexander Haig to the National Republican Convention in New Orleans. Ros-Lehtinen made history when, as a state representative, she married another state representative, Dexter Lehtinen, and in 1986 made history again when both husband and wife were elected to the state Senate. Senator Ros-Lehtinen, who once worked as a teacher and principal of a private school, has supported educational issues in Tallahassee even if at times she could not follow the Republican Party line on certain issues that hurt her county's school district. In the 1987 legislative session, Senator Ros-Lehtinen led the passage of a law establishing minimum performance standards in social studies for Florida's public schools, and she passed a bill outlawing payments to surrogate mothers in excess of legitimate expenses. Senator Ros-Lehtinen is running unopposed for reelection.

Roberto Casas, along with Ros-Lehtinen, has served in the state legislature since 1982. He works quietly for his Hialeah district in Tallahassee and maintains a close working relationship with other members of the Dade County legislative delegation. On September 6, 1988, he defeated state representative Rodolfo "Rudy" García in the primary election and became the Republican candidate for the state Senate. He will face a Democratic opponent in the general election and has a good chance of being elected due to the increased number of Republicans in the district and the strong support of the popular mayor of Hialeah, Raul Martinez. Rudy García's defeat ended his four-year career in the state legislature. When García was elected to the state House of Representatives at the age of 21, he became the youngest person in the Florida legislature and one of the youngest in state legislatures anywhere in the United States. During this session, García worked on a number of bills dealing with crime and education.

Bay of Pigs veteran Luis Morse has served in the Florida House of Representatives since 1984. He defeated Bay of Pigs veteran Humberto Cortina, who was the incumbent and had served a two-year term in the state house. This session, Morse has worked on a number of issues, including the Department of Transportation's turnpike expansion plans and the issue of sharing a portion of the gas-tax revenues for local bus service. Morse defeated two Republican opponents in the primary election and was reelected to the house in the general elections in 1988, when there were no Democratic candidates.

Javier Soto, also a Bay of Pigs veteran, was elected to the Florida house in 1984. In the 1988 session, he passed an anti-graffiti law and another one raising littering fines. Soto ran for the state Senate seat vacated by Dexter Lehtinen, who became United States Attorney for the Southern District of Florida. Soto defeated one Republican opponent and faces a Democrat in the general election.

Alberto Gutman was elected to the House of Representatives in 1984. He has worked with the Dade delegation on various issues. He ran unopposed in 1988.

Also running without opposition in 1988 is Lincoln Díaz-Balart, who has completed his first two-year term in the state House of Representatives. A young lawyer, Díaz-Balart is considered to have a bright future. In 1984, he defeated Bay of Pigs veteran Humberto Cortina, who was the incumbent and had served a two-year term in the state house. Díaz-Balart worked on a number of bills this session. He passed a bill permitting the Seminole and Miccosukee tribes to keep the proceeds from traffic fines. He also contributed to a homeless-aid bill. Lincoln Díaz-Balart made history on September 6, 1988, when his young brother Mario Díaz-Balart was elected to the state representative seat vacated by Javier Soto. Mario Díaz-Balart has been elected because he had no Democratic opponent for the general election. These brothers are the first to serve together in Tallahassee since the 1890s. Mario Díaz-Balart has worked as assistant to the mayor of Miami, Xavier Suárez.

Three Cuban Americans are running for the House of Representatives seat of Arnhilda González-Quevedo. Miguel A. De Grandy and Carlos Valdés will face each other in a runoff in October 1988. The winner will face Democrat Manuel Argues in the general election in November 1988. Either Republican, lawyer Luis Rojas or Christina MacKenzie-Marañon will face Irene González Secada in the general election. The three are running for Rudy García's vacated state representative seat.

The Cuban-American legislators' clout in Tallahassee could increase if, in addition to Senator Ros-Lehtinen, Casas and Soto are elected to the Senate and seven Cuban Americans are elected to the House of

Representatives. There will then be ten Cuban-American legislators in Florida.

Cuban American Politicians in South Florida

There are four Cuban-American mayors currently in cities in Dade County, Florida, also known as the greater Miami area. Dade County has 27 cities and unincorporated areas within its boundary. The city of Miami is the largest city in the county. On November 12, 1985, city of Miami residents elected its first Cuban-American mayor, Xavier L. Suárez. Suárez came to the United States in 1961 at the age of 11 with 13 brothers and sisters. After graduating from Harvard with a law degree and a master's in public policy, he moved to Miami in 1975. He began a law practice and ran unsuccessfully for public office three times. His first race was against Cuban-born city of Miami commissioner Armando Lacasa in 1979. He ran two years later against another Cuban-born city of Miami commissioner, Demetrio Pérez, and lost by 291 votes. In 1983, he ran unsuccessfully against Puerto Rican-born Maurice Ferré, who was the mayor of Miami. Two years later, he defeated Ferré, and in 1987, he again defeated Ferré, who was attempting a comeback. Xavier Suárez, who is registered as an independent, worked on the George Bush campaign as director of the southern states. He has written numerous articles for newspapers and magazines. Mayor Suárez is believed to have a bright political future.

Another Cuban American who many believe also has a bright future is Raul Martínez, mayor of Hialeah. Hialeah is the second largest city in Dade County and has a strong mayor form of government. Martínez, a long-time Democrat, was the Florida Hispanic state coordinator of the Michael Dukakis campaign.

The small city of Sweetwater has had three Cuban-born mayors. Its first mayor, Jorge Valdés, left the post to run successfully for the Metropolitan Commission. Valdés was the first and only Cuban American to be elected and then reelected to the Commission of Metro-Dade. Armando Penedo replaced Valdés as mayor of Sweetwater and later was defeated by Isidoro Cuevas, the current mayor. Both Penedo and Cuevas are Republicans. Pedro Reboredo, a Republican, is the current mayor of the city of West Miami.

Many Cuban Americans have served or are currently serving on various city commissions in Dade County. In 1985, Rosario Kennedy became the first Cuban-born woman to be elected to the Miami City Commission. She was serving as vice mayor in 1988. Another Cuban American, lawyer Victor Yurre, was elected to the Miami City Commission in 1987. As of 1988, Cuban Americans, including Mayor Suárez, have a majority of three in the five-member Miami City Commission. Miami has a city manager form of government in which the mayor has one vote, as does each of the other four city commissioners. Cuban Americans also have a majority on the city council of Hialeah. Five are serving on the Hialeah Commission in 1988; they are: Andrés Mejides, Herman Echevarría, Alexander Penelas, Julio Martínez, and Natacha Seijas-Millán, who was the first Cuban-American woman elected. The city council of West Miami has, in addition to Pedro Reboredo, mayor, the following Cuban Americans: Vivian Trigo, Alex Chávez, and Pedro Busse, who is the vice mayor. Only one commissioner is a non-Hispanic. The city of Sweetwater also has a Cuban-American majority. In addition to Mayor Cuevas, they are Hugo Alvarez, Manuel Avila, Iraín González, Tony Durán, and José C. Montiel. Other cities are also beginning to elect Cuban-American politicians such as Raul Valdés Fauli, who serves in the Coral Gables City Commission.

Two Cuban Americans have served on the board of the Dade County public school system, the fourth largest in the United States. Bay of Pigs veteran Alfredo Durán was appointed to the school board by Governor Reuben Askew in 1973. In 1974, he lost his seat to Linton Tyler in a bitter election campaign in which bilingual education and Durán's heritage became the main issues. Accountant Paul Cejas was appointed to the school board by Governor Bob Graham. In 1980, he ran for election and became the first Cuban American to be elected in a county-wide race for any political office in Dade. This was no small feat, since Hispanics represented a small percentage of the county voters at that time. Two years later, Cejas was reelected by a large majority. In 1988, Cejas decided not to run again for the school board, although he had no opponents and would probably have been reelected without difficulty. Since no Cuban American ran for Ceja's seat, the Dade County school board, with a majority of its students of Cuban ancestry, will not have a Cuban American on its board in 1988.

In 1988, Broward County sheriff Nick Navarro, born in Cuba, defeated an opponent in the September primary election. He will be challenged in the November general election by a Democratic opponent. Navarro was elected sheriff four years ago in Broward County, just north of Dade, even though the number of Hispanic voters is quite small in that area.

There are 3,360 Hispanics elected to the 490,000 public offices in the United States, according to the National Association of Latin Elected Officials (NALEO). Of the 3,360 elected Hispanic officials, only a handful are of Cuban origin. Although Cuban Americans have been elected to public offices in other parts of the nation such as Union City, New Jersey, the bulk of the Cuban Americans who have been elected have served or are

serving in the greater Miami area, where the nation's heaviest Cuban concentration is located. Several Cuban Americans have run for the United States Congress in Miami. In the near future, a Cuban American will probably be elected to the United States House of Representatives. As the Cuban population grows in different parts of the nation, there will be more Cuban Americans elected to public offices.

CUBAN MUSIC AND CUBAN MUSICIANS AND DANCERS

Great musicians of Hispanic origin have influenced music in the United States and contributed to new trends and inspiration. In particular, four Latin-American countries have permanently influenced United States music. These countries are Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk, a Louisiana composer, used Cuban themes in his music during the 1850s and the 1860s. Gottschalk went to Cuba in 1854 and met the most outstanding Cuban composers. Nicolás Ruiz Espadero (1832-1890), a friend of Louisiana's famous composer, published pieces in New York that included a *contradanza* and a nocturne. The contradanzas of Manuel Saumell and the *danzas* of Ignacio Cervantes (1845-1905) combined romantic piano elements with the rhythms of Cuba.

Ignacio Cervantes, who Alejo Carpentier believes is the most important nineteenth-century musician of Cuba, came to the United States in 1875. His famous "Danzas Cubanas," which influenced many United States musicians of that time, have become classical models. Cervantes performed many concerts successfully for four years in his adopted country (Carpentier, 1946, p. 21).

By the 1870s, the United States was exposed to the rhythm of the *habanera*, which came to New Orleans by way of Mexico. In 1884-85, New Orleans held the World Industrial and Cotton Exhibition, and many countries participated. Mexico sent a band that played habanera songs, and the habanera rhythm became quite popular.

During the 1920s, Latin bands were playing in New York City hotels. One of these Cuban bands was led by Vicente Sigler. Cuban flutist Alberto Socarrás, and violinist Alberto Ignaza. During this same time, violinist Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939) wrote "Overtures on Cuban Themes" in which Afro-Cuban rhythms were interpreted by a symphonic orchestra for the first time. The Cleveland Symphony Orchestra interpreted Roldán's "Three Small Poems" in 1929. Antonio María Romeu (1876-1955), a composer of *danzones*, was awarded first prize for the player piano rolls he presented at the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1926.

The Havana Casino Orchestra played in New York City during the 1930s. The Mama Inés dance group presented rumba exhibitions on stage. The songs "El Manisero" (The Peanut Vendor) and "Mama Inés" became hits. Moisés Simons (1889-1945) composed "Marta" and "El Manisero," which was also popularized by Rita Montaner (1900-1958) in the United States. Both songs were performed by various American bands. A number of United States composers began to use Cuban elements in their music. George Gershwin, who wrote "Cuban Overture," was one of them. The great Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona (1896-1963) headed the Lecuona Rumba Boys. Lecuona appeared in New York City at the age of 17. His compositions, which were well-known and used as motion picture themes, included "Siempre en mi Corazón" (You're Always in My Heart). Other songs of his that were popular were "The Breeze and I," "Andalucía," and "Siboney." Xavier Cugat recorded Lecuona's "Para Vigo me voy," which means literally "I'm going to Vigo" (a city in Spain), but it was translated into English as "Say Si Si." Cugat also recorded "Aquarela de Brazil" (Water Color from Brazil). Desi Arnáz popularized the Cuban conga in the United States, as did Miguelito Valdés (1916-1978) in his creation of "Babalu." That song was recorded by Desi Arnáz with Xavier Cugat in 1941.

During the 1940s, Frank Grillo, a maraca player and singer nicknamed *Machito*, performed with his group, Machito's Afro-Cubans. Tito Puentes and Tito Rodríguez had bands called "The Piccadilly Boys" and "The Mambo Devils" respectively and played mambo music. Damaso Pérez Prado (1916-) also popularized the mambo in the United States, and his band was named the most popular band in 1955 by the American Association of Critics. Pérez Prado's record *Cherry Pink and Apple Blossom White* won the RCA Gold Record Award. The popularization of the Cha-cha-cha followed that of the Mambo. By the 1950s, Cuban music was part of the regular repertoire of American bands. Songs that were popular during this time were "Yours," by Gonzalo Roig (1890-1977); "Let Me Love You Tonight," by Osvaldo Farrés (1902-1985); and "Green Eyes," by René Touzet (1915-).

Osvaldo Farrés, another well-known composer, wrote the hits "Acércate Más" (Come Closer) and "Quizás, Quizás, Quizás" (Perhaps, Perhaps, Perhaps).

René Touzet, well known as a pianist and a composer, has won the Gold Record Award four times and has played with the orchestra of Desi Arnáz and Xavier Cugat.

Julian Orbón, a Cuban citizen born in Spain, wrote a symphony for the Koussevitzki Foundation. Orbón was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1958, and the fol-

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lowing year his "Danzas Sinfónicas" were interpreted by Balanchine.

Jorge Bolet (1914-), another talented concert pianist, studied at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia. Bolet is one of the world's most famous interpreters of Liszt.

The decade of the 1970s created a new style known as the salsa, which is a blend of jazz and Latin music. Tito Puente's orchestra and Celia Cruz, who has sung in motion pictures, contributed to the spread of *salsa* music. Celia Cruz is known as the "Salsa Queen."

A small group of young Cubans in Miami called The Miami Sound Machine started playing for small parties and weddings. After several years of hard work, they merged into the American mainstream and became one of the best-known groups in the United States. The Miami Sound Machine, however, was not an immediate success; *Conga*, the group's tenth album, was its first success. Gloria and Emilio Estefan, the creators of the group, have won numerous awards for their songs. In addition to "Conga," they recorded the popular songs "Bad Boys" and "Words Get in the Way."

Two Cubans have excelled in ballet not only in the United States but in the entire world. Alicia Alonso (1921-) came with her husband, Fernando Alonso, to the United States in 1937. Alicia studied with the most famous choreographers of her time, and her career blossomed. She became one of the American Ballet Theatre's leading ballerinas. She performed *Swan Lake*, *Undertow*, *Spectre de la Rose*, *Theme and Variations*, and many other roles. She has won numerous international awards. Alicia Alonso's last performance in New York City was at the Metropolitan Opera House's centennial in 1985. Together with her husband, she lives in Cuba, since both are sympathizers of the communist system in that island (Rodriguez, 1987, pp. 1-6).

Fernando Bujones (1955-) is the other famous Cuban ballet dancer. He was born in Miami but returned to Cuba at an early age. Bujones started his ballet training at the Alicia Alonso School. In 1965, he returned to the country of his birth and soon received a scholarship to the School of American Ballet in New York City. Bujones joined the American Ballet Theatre in 1972. He became a soloist in 1973 and won numerous international awards. In 1985, he left the American Ballet Theatre and has, since that time, appeared as a guest artist with many international ballet companies. Bujones has a most promising career in the years ahead (Hirigoyen, 1987, pp. 1-7).

Cuban music, dancers, and musicians have had a positive impact on the United States since the 1850s. This influence no doubt will increase in the years ahead.

CUBAN ATHLETES

Cubans have excelled in sport and games both in their island and in the United States. José Raúl Capablanca (1888-1942), world champion in chess, played frequently in the United States, as did world billiards champions Alfredo de Oro and Raimundo (Mundito) de Campanioni and fencing champion Ramón Fonst (1883-1959).

After baseball emerged as a most popular sport in Cuba, the United States major leagues began hiring Cuban players. Pitcher Adolfo (Dolph) Luque (1890-1957) played in the major leagues in 1923 and 1925. Luque pitched for the Cincinnati Reds. Other Cubans followed. Miguel Angel (Mike) González (1892-1977) played catcher with the St. Louis Cardinals from 1912 to 1932. Other famous Cuban baseball players were Martín Dihigo (1907-1971), Conrado Marrero (1915-), Napoleón Reyes (1919-), Orestes (Minnie) Miñoso (1922-), Edmundo Amorós (1932-), Camilo Pascual (1934-), and Oscar Pérez Zamora (1943-) (Ripoll, 1987, pp. 24-25).

Today Cuban Americans carry on their fine baseball tradition in the major leagues. The most famous player without a doubt is José Canseco, who was born in Regla, Cuba, in 1964. He came to the United States with his parents and twin brother, Ozzie, who is also a baseball player. José graduated from Coral Park Senior High in Miami. He was soon spotted by Camilo Pascual, the famous pitcher, who recommended him to the Oakland Athletics. He reached the major leagues in 1985 and participated in 29 games. The following year he became "Rookie of the Year." On September 23, 1988, Canseco made history when he became the first player in 112 years of baseball to hit 40 homers and steal 40 bases in one season. Canseco has a bright and financially rewarding future in baseball.

Other young successful players are Rafael Palmeiro of the Chicago Cubs, who is batting above 300, and Danny Tartabull of the Seattle Mariners. One Cuban baseball player, Octavio (Cookie) Rojas, was general manager of the California Angels for almost the entire 1988 season.

Two Cuban world champion boxers have been included in the United States Boxing Hall of Fame: Kid Chocolate (1910-1988) and Kid Gavilán (1926-). Cuban Americans have also excelled in other sports. Pablo Morales established a world swimming record in Madrid, although he missed being selected for the United States Olympic swimming team in 1988. Long-distance runner Salazar has won various marathon races. Mary Jo Fernández, a high school student in Miami, is beginning to compete successfully in world tennis. There were several Cuban-American athletes who competed in the Olympics in Seoul in 1988.

CUBAN AMERICANS IN BUSINESS

If there is an area of endeavor in which Cuban Americans have succeeded, it is in the business world.

Cuban Americans are finding success as managers of multinational corporations as well as in setting up their own businesses, large and small.

The first Cubans to own and operate businesses in United States were refugees who fled the island during the wars against Spain in the nineteenth century. Many rich Cubans were forced to leave their native country. Upon their arrival in the United States, they set up businesses. Among the wealthy Cubans were the Count of Pozos Dulces, the Marqués of Santa Lucía, Ramón Luis Miranda, and Miguel Aldama. Some Cubans who arrived poor made a fortune. The best example of the rags-to-riches group was Eduardo Hidalgo Gato (1847-1926), who made cigars and became a millionaire in Key West (Ripoll, 1987, p. 18).

Roberto Goizueta, who graduated from Yale, is without a doubt the most famous Cuban-American businessman. He began his career as a chemist with Coca-Cola in Havana, Cuba. After he was forced to leave Cuba, he worked for Coca-Cola in the Bahamas and then was transferred to the company's headquarters in Atlanta. He climbed the corporate ladder quickly and became chief executive officer (CEO) in 1981. Goizueta introduced Diet Coke and purchased Columbia Pictures. In spite of the New Coke controversy, the total assets and income of the company have improved (*New York Times*, February 9, 1986, p. 4). *Advertising Age* selected Goizueta as the "1986 Adman of the Year" for reintroducing Coca-Cola's original formula and turning a near disaster into a success. Goizueta is the first Hispanic so honored by that magazine (*Vista*, February 8, 1987, p. 3).

Hispanic Business regularly reports on the achievements of Hispanic entrepreneurs. Many businesses described in the magazine are Cuban-owned and -operated. This monthly publication devoted its June 1987 issue to analyzing the 500 largest Hispanic-owned corporations in the United States and Puerto Rico. The editors of the magazine obtained data from government agencies, business associations, and questionnaires mailed to more than 2000 businesses. Sales as defined by *Hispanic Business* include rental income and other revenues. Interest and noninterest income are considered as sales figures for financial institutions, including banks. All figures are for the year 1986, and the number of employees reported are as of December 31, 1986 (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, p. 90).

The 500 largest Hispanic-owned corporations represent a variety of industries and services. The breakdown is as follows: service, 105; manufacturer, 93; wholesale, 82; construction, 73; retail, 57; food, 34; finance, 27; and transportation, 14. A few are agricultural or diversified businesses. Most of the corporations—489—are privately owned, so they are not required to file annual stockholders' reports giving financial information. The top 500 companies had $9.89 billion in sales in 1986, compared to $8.7 billion for 1985 (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, pp. 30-31).

Most of the firms are located in states with large concentrations of Hispanics. California has the most corporations with 118; Florida, 102; Texas, 61; Puerto Rico, 48; New York, 34; Illinois, 23; New Mexico, 13; New Jersey, 13; Arizona, 11; and Colorado, 9. The 500 companies employ 75,535 people, an average of 151 employees per company (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, p. 32). There are 400,000 Hispanic businesses in the nation, according to the president of the National Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Abel Quintela, with $18,000 million in sales each year.

The largest firm continues to be Bacardí Imports, Inc., with headquarters in Miami. Bacardí Imports, Inc., started to operate in the United States in 1944 and currently employs 250 people. Bacardí's sales declined from $475 million in 1985 to $424.61 million in 1986, due to decreased rum consumption. Bacardí Imports, Inc., which has been an exclusive importer and distributor of Bacardí rums in the nation, now wants to diversify. It will become the national distributor of Martini & Rossi vermouths and Martini & Rossi Asti Spumante. Previously, the company had introduced Papillon and Grandin wines, O'Darby Irish Liqueur, and Don Emilio Tequila (*Volsky*, June 1987, p. 49).

Luis J. Echarte is the president of this Cuban-owned company. He joined the company in 1979, and his star rose quickly. The company was founded by Don Facundo Bacardí in Santiago de Cuba in 1862. Through the years, the company expanded beyond Cuba to Spain, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the United States (*New York Times*, February 9, 1986, p. 4).

Bacardí Corporation is the sixth largest firm, with $234 million in sales, a $13 million increase from the previous year. Bacardí Corporation, which employs 904 individuals, makes the rum that is imported and distributed in the United States (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, p. 30).

The second largest Hispanic company, International Medical Centers, a Florida health maintenance organization, is in chaos. Chief executive officer Miguel Recarey was indicted and is a fugitive from justice. This company started its operation in 1972 and before its problems employed 2,250 (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, p. 33). Its sales for 1986 were $419.6 million. Recently purchased by another firm, International Medical Centers is no longer in existence.

Another business area in which Cuban Americans have been very active is the banking industry. Carlos Córdova is the chairperson, president, and chief executive officer of the Capital National Bank, which in 1986 had four branches in New York City.

The two largest Hispanic banks in Miami, Florida, are Capital Bank with 602 employees and Republic National of Miami with 621 employees. Abel Holtz is the founder, president, and chairman of Capital Bank and its holding company, Capital Bank Corp. Holtz expanded Capital Bank from a single office to 17 branches. The bank has more than $650 million in assets and $95.95 million in sales. Holtz, who had been imprisoned in Cuba, came to Miami in 1961. Republic National Bank of Miami had sales of $84 million and assets exceeding $895 million. Republic's chairman of the board, Luis Botifoll (1910-), is an energetic banker who is highly respected in South Florida. Republic's president is Fred de la Mata. (*New York Times*, February 9, 1986, p. 4 and p. 10).

Other well-known CEOs of banks in Miami are Pedro Ramón López of General Federal Savings and Loan of Miami ($29.94 million); Raúl Másvidal, who ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Miami, of Miami Savings Bank ($14.60 million); Victor López de Mendoza of Continental Bank of Miami ($12.88 million); Yvonne Santa Maria, the only Hispanic female CEO of a bank, of Ponce de Leon Federal Savings and Loan ($6.70 million); and Sergio J. Másvidal of the M Bank ($3.17 million) (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, pp. 34-46).

There are many other Cuban Americans who occupy senior management positions in non-Hispanic banks in Miami. Carlos Arboleya, for example, is vice chairman of the Barnett Bank of South Florida. Arboleya was the first Cuban American appointed president of a bank in the United States.

Among other business enterprises is V. Suárez & Company, the fifth largest Hispanic company, of which Diego Suárez is chairman of the board and CEO. The company is a wholesaler of beverages, household goods, and foods in the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico. It has $260 million in sales and employs 250 people (*Volsky*, June 1987, pp. 53-54).

There are 25 Hispanic auto dealers among the 500 largest Hispanic businesses. Gus Machado heads the largest dealership in Hialeah, Florida, with $136.45 million in sales. Gus Machado Enterprises, Inc., is the nation's twelfth largest Hispanic corporation.

According to Carlos Arboleya, there were more than 19,700 successful Cuban-American businesses in 1984 in the greater Miami area. This number included 60 Cuban-American owners of new and used car dealerships, over 500 supermarkets, and 250 drugstore owners. In the banking business, 17 Cuban Americans were top-level executives and 390 served as bank vice presidents. About 80 percent of the gas stations in the area were owned or operated by Cuban Americans. Cuban-American builders accounted for more than $1.1 billion in construction. Cuban-American business persons also run real estate, manufacturing, construction, boat building, cigar making, auto and aircraft repair and distribution, agricultural, fishing, and other types of firms (Arboleya, 1984, p. 2).

The following is a list of some of the largest Cuban-American businesses in the greater Miami area: Manuel A. Herrán runs the Sedano's Supermarkets with branches all over Miami. The company ranks #11 and has $138.21 million in sales and 1100 employees. Elpidio Nuñez is the CEO of Northwestern Meat of Miami, which ranks #13 among the 500 Hispanic companies. The company distributes meat and seafood and has $119 million in sales and 76 employees. José L. Saumat is the CEO of Kaufman and Roberts, a retailer of appliances and electronics with many branches in south Florida. The company ranks #17 and has $104 million in sales and 620 employees. David Egozi runs Suave Shoes, Inc., a manufacturer and importer of shoes, with $77 million in sales and 800 employees. Suave Shoes, Inc., ranks #27. Remedios Diaz-Oliver, one of the few female CEOs, together with her husband, Fausto, is very active in community and social organizations and runs American International Container. The company has $58.50 million in sales and 101 employees (*Hispanic Business*, June 1987, p. 33).

In addition to Remedios Diaz Oliver, a few other Cuban-American women are moving into CEO positions in Hispanic firms. One of the five women selected as Hispanic Business Women of 1987 by *Hispanic Business* was Cuban-born Teresa Zubizarreta. She runs Zubi Advertising in Miami, an agency that specializes in advertising and marketing in the Hispanic community. The company has $5.56 million in sales and 14 employees (Trager, June 1987, pp. 81-82). Three Hispanic advertising agencies that compete with Zubi Advertising are also run by Cuban-American women: Aida Levitán, who ran unsuccessfully for the Metro Dade County Commission in 1988; Ana Maria Haar; and Maria Elena Toraño. Toraño held a federal position in Washington during the Carter administration.

Another female CEO is Mirta de Perales, who brought her beauty business from Cuba to the United States. Mirta de Perales of Mirta de Perales, Inc., Miami, Florida, had sales of $4.51 million in beauty products.

Among the successful family-owned businesses is that founded in the 1970s by Antonio Peláez. Anpesil, as he called his company, is the largest candy distributor in the United States. Anpesil Company imports great quantities of candies from Europe and South America and sells them to jobbers who in turn sell to small retail stores. The company sales exceed $30,000,000. Peláez became the first Hispanic appointed to Pennsylvania's Candy Hall of Fame.

Rafael Sánchez is the first Cuban American to promote car races in the United States. First, he brought the Miami Gran Prix to Miami. Now he sponsors two races in Miami as well as races in other United States cities.

The success of Cuban Americans in the business world has opened the doors of the political establishment in the greater Miami area for some of them. One of the first to join the powerful circle was Armando Codina, who in 1988 was elected president-elect of the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce. Codina will assume the presidency of this powerful 3,400-member chamber in July 1989. Codina, while in his 20s, established a computer billing system for medical doctors, which he sold for millions. He is now a large developer. Among his many projects was the $50 million Museum Tower, a 125,000 square-foot office building, along with many other residential projects. (Biger, *Miami Herald*, May 16, 1988, p. 9).

Another area into which Cuban entrepreneurs are moving is the acquisition of radio stations and newspapers. In September 1988, New York City Mayor Edward Koch gave a luncheon in honor of Raul Alarcón, Sr., and Raul Alarcón, Jr., for their purchase of WSKQ FM-98, the first Hispanic FM station in the city. The Alarcón family owns six radio stations in the United States; these form the Spanish Broadcasting System. In his remarks, Koch stated that 33 percent of the New York City population is Hispanic; thus almost three million people, until the Alarcóns' purchase of the FM station, did not have access to an FM Hispanic radio station. The Alarcón family also owns the New York City radio stations WSKQ-AM and WFAN-AM; the latter was recently purchased for $23 million. The family also owns WCMQ-AM and WCMQ-FM in Miami and KSKQ in Los Angeles (Veciana-Suárez, 1987, pp. 79, 83-84).

In addition to WCMQ-AM and WCMQ-FM, Cuban Americans own and operate five other radio stations in Miami. WAQI-710 AM known as "Radio Mambí," was purchased by a group of Cuban business persons who founded the Mambisa Broadcasting Company. Amancio Victor Suárez owns 51 percent of the stock and is the president and chairperson. Armando Pérez Roura owns 20 percent of the station and is the station general manager and main commentator. Three other people own the rest of the station.

WOCN-1450 AM, "Unión Radio," Inc., was purchased by a group of Cuban-American investors in 1983. The group was headed by Ofelia Pérez Roura, who is married to Armando Pérez Roura. A group of investors headed by former school board member Paul Cejas received approval to purchase the station in August 1988. WRHC-1550 AM, "Cadena Azul," was purchased by a group of five Cuban Americans, four of whom grew up in the same town in Cuba. Salvador Lew is the station president, general manager, and one of the owners (Veciana-Suárez, 1987, pp. 81-89). WSVA-1260 AM was purchased by Herb Levin and Enrique Landin. The station is known as "Radio Suave." WWFE-670 AM is being started by well-known Cuban radio commentator Emilio Milián. The other two Spanish stations, WQBA-1140 AM ("La Cubanísima") and WQBA-107.5 FM, are owned by the Susquehanna Broadcasting Corporation, which is a non-Cuban company. Cuban Americans own and operate eight of the nine Spanish radio stations in Miami as well as some stations in New York City and Los Angeles.

Ever since the first English/Spanish bilingual newspaper, *El Misisipi*, was founded in New Orleans in 1808, hundreds of weekly and daily newspapers have been published by Cuban Americans in the United States.

Many Cuban-American entrepreneurs have found their American dream, some beyond their wildest hopes. Cuban Americans have made their mark as self-made industrialists, business persons, retailers, wholesalers, distributors, bankers, and managers of small to large multinational corporations. They have proved to be people with talent, creativity, energy, and drive—qualities that in turn have made many Cuban Americans highly successful in the business world.

CUBAN-AMERICAN LOCAL, STATE, AND FEDERAL APPOINTEES

Manolo Reboso, a former City of Miami Commissioner, was one of the first Cuban Americans to be appointed to a position in the state government of Florida. Governor Reubin Askew named Reboso to a middle-level position in the Commerce Department, a position he held for a short time. The next Florida governor, Bob Graham, appointed two Cuban Americans to his administration. Lula Rodriguez, a direct descendant of the last Spanish governor of West Florida, José Callava, (1819-1821), headed the governor's Hispanic affairs office in Miami. As of 1988, Lula Rodriguez continues to work for United States Senator Bob Graham in his Miami office. The other appointee was Angel Gonzalez, who served as executive director of the Florida State Hispanic Affairs Commission. This writer was appointed by Governor Graham and served as the Commission's vice chairman, treasurer, and secretary from 1985 to 1987. A Miami lawyer, Rafael Peñalver, served as chairman of the Commission during this time. In 1988, Dr. Gonzalez is working in the Dropout Prevention Office of the Florida State Department of Education. However, it was Florida governor Bob Martinez who appointed two Cuban Americans to his cabinet for the first time in history. The first Cuban American to be appointed to the cabinet was Hugo D. Menendez. He was named secretary of the Department

of Labor and Employment Security in January 1987. Menéndez retired from the federal government after 25 years of service where he worked for the United States Labor Department, Civil Service Commission, and President's Commission Against Organized Crime. The son of Cuban immigrants, Hugo Menéndez grew up in Tampa, Florida.

The second Cuban American and first Cuban woman to be appointed to Florida's cabinet was Adis Maria Vila. In March 1987, Vila was named secretary of the Department of Administration. Vila, a graduate of Miami Senior High School, studied and practiced law. She became a White House Fellow in 1982-1983, part of a successful and highly competitive program for young professionals, who serve in an internship program with the federal government. For the next three years, Vila worked as assistant to the assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs and then served for a year as director of the United States Commerce Department Office of Mexico and the Caribbean Basin. Adis Vila was born in Cuba in 1953 and came to the United States when she was nine years old.

The Reagan administration has appointed Cuban Americans to diplomatic posts, federal government positions, presidential task forces, and committees. On September 19, 1981, Jose Manuel Casanova was appointed as executive director for the United States at the Inter-American Development Bank. He was reappointed on December 6, 1985. Mr. Casanova represented the United States within the Inter-American Development Bank and exercised the United States vote (approximately 34.5 percent) at the meetings of the Board of Directors. The Bank is a multinational organization that finances development projects in Latin America and the Caribbean.

President Reagan also appointed Mr. Casanova as executive director for the United States at the Inter-American Investment Corporation, an institution founded in 1986 to support the development of free enterprise and the private sector in Latin America and the Caribbean. On June 1, 1988, Casanova resigned his federal position and became director of the Office of Estimates and Evaluation of the Inter-American Development Bank. Mr. Casanova changed from being a United States representative to the bank to being a bank employee.

After leaving his native Cuba in 1960, Casanova bought and operated a sugar mill in Costa Rica. In Cuba, he held positions in many business enterprises. He was president and owner of a sugar mill and served as a member of the board of directors of a cement company, an insurance company, and an airline. He also owned a cattle ranch and a soft drink bottling company. Prior to his appointment in Washington, he worked as a stockbroker, management consultant, real estate broker, bank president, founder, and chairman of a federal savings and loan association.

The second Cuban American appointed to a federal position was former classroom teacher Alicia Coro, who became director of the office of Bilingual Education of the United States Department of Education.

The Reagan administration has appointed several Cuban Americans to various advisory boards and presidential commissions. One of these was Carlos Salmán, who in 1988 is currently the chairperson of the Republican Party in Dade County, Florida. Salmán is a real estate developer and president of Terrabank. Jorge Mas Canosa, a businessman and president of the Cuban American National Foundation, is serving in 1988 on Radio Martí's Board of Directors. Mas Canosa and the foundation members were responsible for the creation of Radio Marti. In 1988, they are actively lobbying for T.V. Marti in Congress. In September 1988, the T.V. Martí bill had been approved by the United States House of Representatives. Another Cuban American appointed by President Reagan is John N. Goudi. He was named to the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission in 1985. Goudi was elected chairman of the Quincentenary Commission by the 30-member Commission. The Commission is planning and conducting many national and international events to commemorate the discovery of America. Goudi owns and operates a real estate office and development firm in Miami.

Four Cuban Americans have served as city and county managers in the South Florida area. Sergio Pereira was appointed manager of the City of Miami, and after a brief tenure he was named manager of the Metropolitan Dade County Commission in 1985. After intense criticism by the media for various activities, Pereira resigned in 1988. Joaquin Avino, an engineer working as assistant county manager, replaced Pereira. Cesar H. Odio became city manager of Miami in December 1985, when Pereira left for the county. Another Cuban American, Alex Muxo, Jr., is the city manager of Homestead, a small city in southern Dade County. There are many Cuban Americans who work in county and city governments in Florida and other states.

NUMBER, LEVEL OF EDUCATION, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CUBAN-ORIGIN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States Census released a study of selected demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Hispanic population in the United States in August 1987. From 1980 to March 1987, the Hispanic population grew from 14,609,000 to 18,790,000—a 30 percent increase—while the non-Hispanic population grew by

5.8 percent. The table below indicates the growth among the various groups within the Hispanic population.

Persons of Hispanic Origin, by Type of Origin: March 1987 and 1980 Census (number in thousands)

ORIGIN	March 1987 Number	Percent	1980 Census Number	Percent
Total Hispanic origin	18,790	100.0	14,609	100.0
Mexican	11,762	62.6	8,740	59.8
Puerto Rican	2,284	12.2	2,014	13.8
Central and South American	2,139	11.4		
Other Hispanic	1,588	8.5	3,051[3]	20.9
Cuban	1,017	5.4	803	5.5

There are many who believe that the United States undercounts the Hispanic population. Various studies have reported the Cuban population as about a million for several years. It is this writer's opinion that both the overall Hispanic population and the Cuban population reported by the United States Census are inaccurate. According to this census study, from 1980 to 1987 the percentage of the Cuban-origin population among the total Hispanic population has remained about the same. The United States Census study indicates that Cubans have prospered more than other Hispanic groups in recent years. The Cuban family income was $26,770 as compared to $24,240, other Hispanic; $22,246, Central and South American; $19,326, Mexican; and $14,584, Puerto Rican in 1986. The income average of the total population was $29,458 that same year. The study shows that 13.3 percent of Cubans were listed at or below the poverty level, while 18.7 percent of Central and South American, 19.4 percent of other Hispanic, 24.9 percent of Mexican, and 38.1 percent of Puerto Rican fell in that category. Among the total population, 10.9 percent were reported at or below the poverty level.

The reasons for the higher level of income among the Cuban population can be attributed to their higher level of education and their higher percentage of employment in professional, sales, and technical jobs. Among the Cuban population, 62 percent graduated from high school and 12 percent from college. Of the employed males over 16 years old, 19.0 percent were managers and professionals and 24.1 percent were in technical and sales jobs; among the females over 16 years old, 25.4 percent and 44.7 percent were employed in those respective categories (Bureau of the Census, 1987, pp. 1-11). The communist takeover in Cuba resulted in a large exodus of middle-class professionals and business persons, as well as upper socioeconomic individuals, to the United States. The immigration from Mexico and Puerto Rico brought large numbers of lower socioeconomic individuals. Many of the Cuban refugees came to the United States because of political reasons, so they were not typical of other Hispanics who came to the nation mostly because of economic reasons.

Another important factor in the successful adjustment of the Cuban population was the welcome and assistance provided by the government. The Cuban Refugee Center and many other private and public agencies assisted tens of thousands of Cuban refugees in securing jobs and education. During the 1960s, the civil rights movement opened many doors for minorities, and the Cuban population benefited. Yet, one of the main reasons for the Cuban-American success in the United States lies in their work ethic and desire to become upwardly mobile.

Cuban immigrants, like other previous immigrant groups, have and continue to contribute to the economic, social, and political life of the nation. They have excelled in many fields. As did Cubans during the nineteenth century, the Cuban immigrant today desires to get ahead and compete in the American society, which offers unlimited opportunities and challenges. For many Cuban Americans, the American dream has become a reality.

[3] In the 1980 census, the "Other Hispanic" category included persons from Spain, the Spanish-speaking countries of Central and South America, and Hispanic persons who identified themselves generally as Latino, Spanish American, Spanish, etc. In the March 1987 category, "Central and South American" is listed as a separate category.

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On the Economic Status of Latinos: Opportunities and Challenges for Today and Tommorow

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TODAY'S ISSUES

Across the nation, political, educational, and corporate leaders are examining the relationship of the nation's labor force needs to the year 2000. These leaders are examining new technology, increased foreign competition, demographic shifts, structural changes in the economy, and the high dropout rates and declining skills of high school graduates.

As planners try to fit together the pieces of this puzzle, an alarming mismatch emerges between the future needs of the economy and the availability and preparedness of future workers who can meet those needs. In major United States markets and regions, Latinos will represent a considerable portion, sometimes the majority, of the future potential labor pool, because the Anglo population is aging and the growing numbers of young Latinos are moving into their productive years. Alarming numbers of Latino students, however, are leaving high school early or graduating with inadequate literacy and technical skills, thus depriving themselves of potential college, graduate school, and, finally, recruitment and advancement in professional positions. Not surprising, then, is the depressing prospect of underrepresentation of Latinos in needed managerial and technical careers in public and private enterprises. This shortage is, in part, an extrapolation of the small numbers of Latinos who currently take the requisite math and science courses that could prepare them for business, management, and engineering schools. Historically, college-bound Latinos have opted for careers in education and social work, familiar fields in which there are Latino role models and continuing needs. Latinos have pursued careers in medicine and law, professions that are held in high community esteem. But role models in the business and government world are few. Television does not portray them, and school counselors apparently ignore these professional and business opportunities for Latinos.

Knowledge of the current status and future potential of Latinos in the labor force requires an understanding of a complex set of factors governing demographics of the changing work force, the growing importance of Latinos in diverse parts of the labor market and, at the same time, the growing problems of education and economic deprivation. These problems of Latinos certainly bear upon future employment and social mobility. A related concern is the persistent orientation of Latinos to blue collar and semiskilled positions. To what extent is this orientation due to their low educational attainment level and to the shifting economic structure of the United States? Why are these economic issues important?

TOMORROW'S CHALLENGES

As the general population ages, Latinos will become the majority of the school population, and then the labor force, in many cities and will be a rising percentage of the population in many parts of the nation. The main challenge of the future related to the prosperity of Latino communities and the United States itself will be correspondingly related to the development and progress of today's school-age Latinos and their families.

However, at the same time, because of the increasing Latino population, there will be many growing markets for new Latino businesses. In order to appeal to Latino buyers, a prospective entrepreneur would have to understand Latino culture, language, values, and loyalties. Without this knowledge, the results could be disastrous, if not humorous, for future businesses. As the Lempert Report (1988) pointed out, a number of companies have already missed out in their initial steps to reach the Latino consumers. There was the famous gaffe in 1987 when Braniff Airlines launched its Spanish ad campaign urging customers to "fly in leather," referring to Braniff's leather-upholstered seats. Due to some inadequate knowledge of the nuances of language, the ads in Spanish ended up encouraging folks to "fly naked." Another example is Perdue Farms. Its slogan, "It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken," came out instead to say in Spanish, "It takes a sexually excited man to make a chicken affectionate." Although funny to some,

the examples show the challenge ahead to prepare more Latinos for entrance into the business world.

We can expect to find that the economic situation for the average Latino will only improve when Latinos deal with today's issues. The more specific challenges include the steady deterioration in the income per capita of Latinos, more serious than for other minority groups. Thus, Latinos must address issues of poverty affecting children and families. In addition, problems of relatively low rates of high school completion have compounded the Latino problems. Thus, Latinos must advance in education and training. Furthermore, technological change and competition from abroad are restricting the number of jobs typical of blue-collar occupations. Thus, Latinos may face declining employment opportunities unless equipped to shift to more skilled professions. Also, large corporate firms are aiming products at Latino markets, but there are few Latinos employed in the top ranks of these firms to assure better business opportunities for Latinos. Thus, Latinos must get prepared for managerial positions in the business world.

These are but a few of the challenges facing Latinos in the remainder of the twentieth century. By studying them more carefully, one will gain a new perspective about Latinos in America and the importance of demography, labor market forces, education, training, and opportunities in the business world.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOGRAPHICS

By studying the demographics of the contemporary Latino population in the United States and the projections for the future, one will gain a broader understanding of the status and the future of their economic, social, and cultural presence in the United States.

Far from being homogeneous, the Latino population in the United States is composed of different racial and cultural groups. There are Spanish-speaking blacks, whites, and native Americans. People of Latino origins have also emigrated from different countries, each with its own culture. Furthermore, each of them is concentrated in a different region of the country and casts a distinct social and economic profile. National issues are not equally important: Chicanos are more concerned about Mexican immigration issues than are Puerto Ricans, who are United States citizens by birth; Cubans are more concerned about Fidel Castro and communism than are other Latinos; while the political status of Puerto Rico is of far more interest to Puerto Ricans than to others. Furthermore, geographic distances between them work against political and economic unification.

Yet, hardly a report is written today about these differences. Instead, we see portrayals of Latinos in terms of their likeness with regard to their growing numbers, concentrations, composition, and age, sex, and ethnic distributions. Such numbers are nonetheless valuable because they provide several insights for understanding the common challenges facing Latinos. What are some of these demographic numbers and depictions?

From 1980 to 1987, the Latino population increased by 30.0 percent (from 14,458,000 to 18,790,000) while the nation's total population increased by 7.3 percent (from 222,461,000 to 238,789,000). When we subtract the growth of Latinos from the total growth, the non-Latino United States populations increased by only 5.8 percent (from about 208 to 220 million). In sum, the rate of growth of the Latino community had significant bearing on the United States and was five times greater than the growth of the non-Latino population. In other words, Latinos are one of the fastest growing populations in the United States.

The Latinos' rapid rate of population growth is due in part to its relative youthfulness, higher fertility rates, and higher net migration rates of Latinos. More than one-third (36 percent) of Latinos are less than 18 years old compared to about one-quarter (26 percent) of non-Latinos. The median age for Latinos in 1987 was 25 years as compared to 26.3 for blacks and 32.2 years for whites. Latinos tend to marry younger than other Americans and Latino women are especially likely to marry while in their teens. This also means that the more youthful Latinos have relatively more people at child-bearing age than non-Latinos.

Latinos have relatively high fertility rates. Latino women 18 to 44 years of age had an average of 86.1 births per 1,000 in 1986 compared to black women with 72.2 and white women with 64.6. In 1980, 7.3 percent of Latino women 15 to 19 years old had babies, compared to 10.2 percent of black women and 4.5 percent of white non-Latinos of the same age group (McKay, 1987, p. 4). Although the majority of Latino teenage mothers are married when they have children, most have not finished high school. The net result of high fertility and teenage marriage is a relatively high dependent-to-workforce ratio for Latinos of about 0.65 as compared to 0.40 for non-Latinos. In other words, Latino parents have more young people to care for per income earner than non-Latino households.

Latino family size has declined some since 1970. However, the mean number of persons per Latino family in 1986 was still high at 3.87 compared to 3.21 persons in the non-Latino family. Currently, about 52 percent of Latino families contain four or more persons and 12.5 percent have six or more. Non-Latinos on the other hand have only 36 percent of their families with four or more persons and only 5 percent with six or more. Fertility rates partially explain these differences in family sizes.

However, Latinos are more likely than other Americans to live in multigenerational households, i.e., Latino families contain different generations of young and old. Latino elderly, a small but rapidly growing group, are less likely than whites or blacks to be institutionalized away from their family, thus adding to the dependency ratio of Latino families (McKay, 1987).

The number of Latino single-parent households is increasing as is the percentage of Latino children under 18 living with one rather than both parents (United States Census, No. 411, 1986). In 1986, 23.3 percent of Latino households had a female head, no male present; 6.3 percent had a male head, no wife present; and 70.4 percent of Latino families were headed by a married couple compared to 80.1 percent for non-Latino families. Respective figures for single-parent non-Latino female- and male-headed households were 16.1 and 3.8 percent. Despite the rise in single-parent households, Latinos remain less likely than the general population to be divorced and, because of multigenerational clustering, Latinos are more likely than the overall population to live in larger family households (U.S. Census, No. 410, 1986).

HOW IMMIGRATION AFFECTS DEMOGRAPHICS

Relatively large families, high fertility rates and youthful parents assure a rapidly growing Latino population, even without positive net migration rates. However, Latino population growth is also due to high rates of both legal and undocumented immigration. Though the numbers are unreliable, total undocumented United States immigration is generally estimated to account for an annual inflow of half a million aliens, the majority of whom are Latinos from Mexico and Central America (Koch, 1987). The growth of this flow is reflected in the number of apprehensions of illegal entrants along the 1,900-mile United States-Mexican border (see United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, annual reports). Moreover, in response to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, as of May 1988, INS news releases reported a total of 1.6 million applications for anmesty plus 470,000 applications for legal residence from farmworkers under a separate program, which raised the total applications to over two million for United States residence. Over 910,000 applications were filed in Los Angeles and over 70 percent of all applications were from Mexicans, adding to California's concentration of Chicanos.

Latinos include both large numbers of recent immigrants and first-generation offspring who not only experience new and different economic and cultural surroundings but often speak Spanish as a first and only language. About one-fourth of Mexican-origin Latinos are born in Mexico, three-fourths of Cuban Americans, and two-thirds of United States-Central and -South Americans are foreign born, adding to the cultural diversity among Latinos.

In 1987, the various subgroups of Latinos included persons of the following:

Table 1

Number of Latinos by Ethnic Origin, 1987

Mexican origin	11.8 million	62.8	percent of the total
Puerto Rican origin	2.3 million	12.2	"
Cuban origin	1.0 million	5.3	"
Central and S. Amer.	2.1 million	11.2	"
Other Latino	1.6 million	8.5	"
Total	18.8 million	100.0	percent

Because of historic patterns of immigration, Latino subgroups are concentrated in particular regions, i.e. Mexican-origin Latinos or Chicanos are located largely in the Southwest; Puerto Ricans in New York, New Jersey and Puerto Rico; and Cuban-origin Latinos in Florida. Central- and South-American-origin Latinos are mostly within the mid-Atlantic states (United States Census, Supplementary Report, 1982). Nearly one-third of Latinos live in California and most are Chicanos representing nearly 22 percent of the state's population. In the Los Angeles basin, Latinos make up 27 percent of that area's population. California and Texas, plus the metropolitan areas of New York, Miami, and Chicago, account for 70 percent of the Latino population. Latinos are more likely to live in metropolitan areas than non-Latinos; 87 percent reside within metropolitan areas compared to 74 percent of non-Latinos. However, Mexican Americans are relatively less urbanized than other Latinos and many are known to live and work in rural areas.

The economic and labor-market conditions of major metropolitan areas to a large extent determine the political and socioeconomic position of Latinos. Moreover, the major growth in the Latino school-age population has been in urban places where Latinos are concentrated. These places also attract most of the new immigrants. For these reasons, the problems facing Latinos will continue to be in reference to education, social welfare, employment, economic opportunities, and in terms of their metropolitan areas.

United States Census projections of the Latino population indicate a doubling in 30 years and a possible tripling in 60 years (United States Census, No. 995, 1986). Most of the Latino growth would occur among those aged 35 and older. Latinos 65 years and older may quadruple by 2015. Meanwhile, the white population may peak in size by 2020 at 204 million along with 44

million blacks and 13.7 million others. Thus in the approaching decades the importance of Latinos is bound to increase if only because of their numbers.

INCOME AND POVERTY: TWO MAJOR CONCERNS

Having seen the difference between Latinos and non-Latinos in terms of several socio-demographic features, it is not surprising to find that Latinos also differ in income and purchasing power from non-Latinos. In fact, the 1980 census revealed only two major groups with annual family incomes below the national average of $23,092—Latino families, with $17,263 (75 percent of the national average) and black families with $15,711 (68 percent of the national average). Whites of European ancestry and Asian/Pacific Islanders had family incomes at or above the national average in 1980, with incomes of $24,385 and $26,575, respectively. Although the mean family income of Latinos increased to $24,439 in 1986 (and blacks to $22,778) this was almost negligible improvement compared to the increase in white income to $36,416. These statistics show that the economic position of Latinos relative to the general population (with the exception of blacks) is, and has long been, markedly low. Many of the nation's 64 million families may talk as if they are economically deprived, but the fact of the matter is that on average, Latino and black families are the most likely of all to be poor in the United States.

Since the Census Bureau began collecting poverty data on Latinos in 1972, there have been relatively few studies following the trends and correlates of Latino poverty. However, the number of Latinos living in poverty and the number and percentage of Latino children living in poverty hit record highs in the 1980s, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (1986). The Center reported that the Latino poverty rate (the percentage of Latinos who are poor) hit a high of 29 percent, with 5.2 million Latinos living in poverty in 1985. For the population as a whole, the poverty rate declined from 14.4 percent in 1984 to 14.0 percent in 1985. Since 1973, the typical Latino family's income, adjusted for inflation, has fallen more than $2,000, a drop of 10 percent and since 1982, the average per person income for Latinos has gone lower than the per person income for blacks. The Center reported also that:

> While 12.2 percent of black married couple families are poor (about one in every eight) and 6.1 percent of white married couple families are poor (one in every sixteen), some 17 percent of Latino married couples are poor (more than one in every six). In addition, 50.5 percent of black female-headed families are poor, while 53.1 percent of Latino female-headed families are poor (September, 1986).

The Center also reported that 66.9 percent of black children living in female-headed families are poor, but that an even higher percentage—72.4 percent—of Latino children in these families are poor.

In 1987, the latest year of official poverty data, 1.2 million Latino families were living in poverty. The poverty rate for Latino families was 25.8 percent, i.e., two and a half times more than the 10 percent poverty rate for non-Latino families. Because of the growth in the Latino population, about 210,000 more Latino families were living in poverty in 1987 than in 1980 (US. Census, Series P-60, No. 431, 1988). Puerto Rican families had the highest poverty rate, 37.9 percent in 1987. Among Mexican-American families, the poverty rate was 25.5 percent in 1987. These two groups carried the major burden of Latino poverty.

Low income and poverty pose serious and damaging consequences for Latinos. Low income accentuates the need for family members to work at an early age and often leaves problems such as poor health and housing. Absolute poverty deprives many Latinos from making critical investments in education, the backbone of human capital formation, employment, and earnings.

Relatively less inclined to poverty than other Latinos are members of the Cuban communities; 13.8 percent of Cuban families were poor in 1987. In Florida, the self-employment experience of Cuban Americans is relatively strong and the Cuban immigrants tend to have above average success in the labor market (Borjas, 1986, 1987). Even with the 1980 influx of (Mariel) Cuban refugees of impoverished roots, Cubans of South Florida have made impressive progress in the United States (Portes and Stepick, 1985). Perez (1986) attributes the Cuban success story to the high degree of economic cooperation within the family:

> It is a family with characteristics tailored to facilitate upward mobility: a relatively large number of workers, high rates of female employment, the presence of an elderly generation that contributes directly and indirectly to the household's economic welfare, low fertility, and high levels of school enrollment (1986, p. 17).

In short, the Cuban household, according to Perez, combines family numbers, earnings, and motivation into a self-sustaining mechanism for upward mobility.

By contrast, the accounts written in the 1960s by anthropologists Oscar Lewis, William Madsen, Arthur Rubel, Munro Edmonson, and Margaret Clark, of strong family networks in Puerto Rican and Mexican communities, are far from positive (Rosaldo, 1985). Their studies tended towards pathological analysis of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, strongly suggesting that Latinos were their own worst enemies in causing economic deprivation. These early anthropological writings

have since been challenged and strongly criticized mainly by Latino scholars of the '70s (Rosaldo, 1985). Latino social scientists like Acuña (1981) and Barrera (1979) show that race and class are issues that should be looked at from different perspectives and not just those of classical writers.

More recently, research by Mines and Nuckton (1982) has shown that Mexican immigrants tend to set up "beachhead communities" which assist future immigrants from Mexico to settle in the United States, especially in California. Tienda (1980) found that United States family connections are important for the immigration of Mexicans into the United States and for their social and emotional adjustment, but that the Mexican experience differs from that of Cubans for whom the maintenance of ascriptive relations gives the immigrant an advantaged position vis-à-vis those who do not have such connections. In short, the research to date would lead us to infer that in the Mexican settlement process, immigrant poverty begets continued poverty of Mexican Americans or Chicanos; while in the Cuban case, relatively higher immigrant wealth and determination abets their ability to succeed in the United States (Borjas, 1982, 1985). Given the apparent differences in the income and poverty levels of different Latino groups, and differences between Latinos and non-Latinos, one is left to determine the reasons behind these differences.

THE ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND ASSIMILATION

In studying the income and poverty of different populations, economists have found it necessary to analyze the importance of education, language, and assimilation with regard to Latinos. The main questions include the following: How does schooling and education affect earnings potential? How important is English proficiency in getting a high-paying job? To what extent do Latinos gain economically by assimilating into the United States society?

Despite the important role that extended family can play in alleviating poverty among Latinos, education seems to count more for future economic gain. In many studies of Latinos, relatively low rates of high school completion are highly correlated with economic deprivation. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (1986), in 1985, 62 percent of the Latino families below the poverty level contained adults who had less than four years of high school. Nearly 30 percent of the impoverished Latinos up to 34 years of age did not have a high school diploma. For the same age groups only 12.3 percent of whites and 16.7 percent of blacks did not have a high school diploma.

Most alarming is the growing number of functionally illiterate among Latinos, people functioning at a fourth grade level or less. Out of approximately twenty-three million functional illiterates in the United States today, approximately one-half, 12 million, are Latinos age 16 or older. Moreover, according to a recent study by SEP, Jobs for Progress, Inc, a Latino-oriented organization based in Dallas, more than one-third of Latino mothers on public assistance are illiterate (United States DOL, 1986).

School achievement, though slowly improving overall, is a serious problem for all Latinos but most troublesome for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. In the Los Angeles Unified School District, Chicanos have the greatest high-school dropout rate of any minority group—at least 4.5 percent leave school between the tenth and twelfth grades. Of California's Chicanos who do graduate from high school, only about 5 percent are academically qualified—under existing guidelines based on grade-point averages and test scores—to enter the University of California. The rates of eligibility for whites and Asians is three and four times higher. As a result, Chicanos are nearly twice as likely as whites to attend two-year colleges and half as likely to attend universities. Moreover, data from the California Commission on Postsecondary Education show that, based on past performance, fewer than 20 of every 1,000 Latino or black ninth graders are likely to graduate from a four-year college or university within five years of admission. The comparable graduation numbers for white and Asian ninth graders are 60 and 175 per 1,000 (Fields, 1987). In short, the educational pipeline from elementary grades through college is hemorrhaging and Latinos are losing out. With a rapid growth in the Latino population, coupled with increasing poverty and a disappointing picture of the higher education curve, not only are Latinos losing ground, but the losses are also affecting the prosperity and well-being of the society (Bouvier and Martin, 1987).

Recognizing the important role of education, Chicano parents in Los Angeles, as in other areas, filed a lawsuit alleging that for decades the School District spent hundreds of dollars less per pupil in minority areas, forcing Chicano students to attend overcrowded schools with less-experienced teachers, fewer supplies, and poorer equipment. The common lack of "educational equity," along with the failure of school leaders throughout the state to respond to the charges, is considered a primary cause of poor educational attainment of Latinos.

Another explanation for the poor schooling record of Latinos is a lack of English skills or "limited English deficiency." The facility for English is a function of several factors: birthplace, language spoken at home and work, and training at school. In 1980, Spanish speakers accounted for 46 percent of the language minority population of about 23 million persons. Thus for about 10 mil-

lion people, English is second to Spanish; this has been particularly true for recent immigrants but less true for second and third generations of Latinos. The importance of English proficiency and how to address the limited English deficiency of different generations of Latinos are questions often asked by the educational community.

Some researchers have suggested that English proficiency and assimilation are more important and have the greatest effects on the employment and earnings of Latinos than general schooling (see James and Appelbaum, 1986). Researchers like McManus (Spring, 1985) emphasize the argument this way:

> Since English skills provide substantial wage gains, assimilation of minority-language immigrants will be facilitated by English language training. To the extent that "bilingual education" interferes with rapid integration into the U.S. language mainstream, it ought to be discouraged (p. 85).

According to this view, English proficiency is synonymous with assimilation.

Koch (1987) partially corroborates this argument. He examined the incomes earned by 18 groups of immigrants using census data for 1970 and 1980. These immigrants represented two-thirds of all immigrants during the '70s. Koch found considerable disparity in the family incomes earned by the various groups of settled immigrants, from a low of $9,569 to a high of $25,431 (Koch, 1987, p. 297). The families of four immigrant groups (United Kingdom, Philippines, India, and Canada) earned more income than the median income of families of native United States born. The lowest family incomes came from immigrants from three non-English-speaking countries: Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Haiti. Koch went on to examine the effects that education and mastery of the English language had upon these immigrants' incomes. As expected, education was a significant predictor of settled immigrants' incomes. But Koch also found a substantial payoff to the acquisition of English language skills by immigrants. He added that:

> This implies that public policy should be directed at increasing the English language facility of immigrants as quickly as possible. While this result does not constitute an endorsement of either "immersion" or the "bilingual" approaches to the English language education of immigrants, it does supply impetus for studies that are directed at determining which method is superior in increasing immigrants' facility with the English language (Koch, 1987, p. 3).

Several other studies corroborate the importance of English and formal education for better income and employment (James and Appelbaum, 1986; Borjas and Tienda, 1985). Whereas Koch used data on groups, these other studies rely mostly on data of individuals. For example, Grenier (1984) utilized 1976 Survey of Income and Education data for 2,428 Latino males and 5,970 non-Latino males and found that lack of English language proficiency could lower Latino immigrants' incomes by as much as 23 percent. Similar research by McManus, Gould, and Welch (1983) and Reimers (1983, Jan. 1984) suggest a smaller, but still substantial penalty for family earnings. McManus (Sept., 1985), in particular, calculated that the costs of deficiencies in English for most non-English-speaking immigrants are more than $1,000 per year for 8 of 11 ethnic language groups of men that he studied, also with 1976 SIE data. Interestingly, two groups of immigrant men stand to lose over $6,000 per annum for deficiencies in English: Chinese immigrants would lose $6,322 and Russian immigrants $6,043. Latino male immigrants would lose $2,567 per year by not raising their English proficiency to levels attained by "native" Latinos who speak only English. Regardless of group, lost earnings from an inability to communicate in English are substantial. Over a lifetime of 20 to 40 years, the opportunity costs would rise to tens of thousands of "lost" dollars or earnings. Reimers (1984) also pointed out, that:

> The Puerto Ricans would be helped about equally [from education and English] by converting their English deficiencies and by attaining the same level of education as white non-Latinos. Mexican-Americans would benefit much more from increased education than from language programs alone... Cubans, on the other hand, stand to gain more from language programs, as their education level is already high (p. 415).

Similarly, McManus, Gould and Welch (1983) asserted that "differences associated with English language skills explain virtually all of the Latino wage differences usually attributed to ethnicity, national origin, and time in the United States" (p. 101).

One other question remains, if English acquisition has high payoffs for Latino subgroups, then why isn't there a greater personal investment? The simplest answer given by McManus (Sept. 1985) is that their costs of acquiring English fluency are greater than their benefits. If there is validity to this statement, then it may be worthwhile finding ways to speed-up the process of improving fluency by assuring Latinos low-cost access to English training.

A controversial topic is the importance of "assimilation" for Latino improvement. It has been the subject of numerous studies (Borjas, 1985, Borjas and Tienda, 1987). The term is a widely used concept of American sociology to explain how immigrants can succeed in another dominant community. In typical sociology textbooks, assimila-

tion occurs when persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds interact in and accept the life of the larger community. Thus, complete assimilation would ultimately mean the absence of discrimination, prejudice, value and power conflict, and separate social structures based on racial or ethnic concepts. As used by Borjas and Tienda (1987):

> Assimilation refers to a process whereby immigrants acquire skills, including English proficiency and knowledge about the U.S. labor market and other social institutions which ultimately will enhance their socioeconomic success and, in particular, their earnings.

Thus, assimilation takes on different interpretations. The concept, nonetheless, brings into issue the receptiveness and challenges posed by the dominant community in accepting Latinos, as well as the skills required by immigrants themselves to learn about labor markets and social institutions in another ethnic setting. How critical is assimilation for the economic well-being of Latinos?

According to a Rand study by McCarthy and Valdez (1986), assimilation takes Latino immigrants three generations before they become a part of mainstream society. As argued, new immigrants take the lowest-level jobs, while their children move into more skilled positions, becoming machinists, drill-press operators..., or highly trained craftsmen such as carpenters, plumbers, and masons. The grandchildren of the immigrants, the second-generation native born, are found in professional, management, and technical positions such as nurses, teachers, lawyers, and accountants. Furthermore, the Rand study noted that by the third generation, the vast majority of Latinos are English dominant and that "the transition to English begins almost immediately and proceeds very rapidly." This fact, however, is not always obvious. According to the authors, there is significant new immigration of Spanish speakers into communities with large Latino populations. But what do Latinos think about assimilation? Is it well-received and promoted? Should it be?

Miller and Valdez (1985) examined the issue of the life-satisfaction of recent Mexican immigrants and later generations who underwent assimilation. According to conventional wisdom, the recent immigrant is likely to be more content with his or her present state in the United States, given the comparison with circumstances before immigration from Mexico. This argument implies that conditions were much worse in Mexico before immigration and that the immigrants are similar to those who remain in Mexico. Furthermore, arguments based on assimilation logic stipulate that the immigrants' frames of reference shift from Mexico to the United States over time with progressive acculturation. Hence, dissatisfaction grows if conditions do not substantially improve. Contrary to these arguments, Miller and Valdez found from their survey that recent male immigrants on the whole did not define their economic status more favorably than earlier immigrant Mexican Americans, mainly because they were still very poor in the United States. Moreover, they found that longer-term immigrants considered their income as more adequate than recent immigrants, but this was seen to be a function of the greater actual income of the former. In the final analysis, Miller and Valdez conclude that:

> It appears invalid to maintain that poverty among Mexican immigrants is less objectionable since they do not perceive themselves as deprived. Poor immigrants differ little from the poor of other generations in evaluating their economic plight (pp. 161-162).

In a quantitative analysis of assimilation and English skills and their relation to Chicano workers' well-being, Arce and Torres (1983) determined that although education is highly correlated with English, higher education also tends to correlate with discouraged use of Spanish. In other words, the use of English over Spanish by later generations "may be dictated by the environment and not by whether one prefers to use one or the other language" (1983: 88). Accordingly, although cultural assimilation factors are useful for examining status attainment among Chicanos, such factors may be a reflection of other, more critical and determinant forces. That is, English is learned primarily as a defensive measure in United States society, rather than as something desired. Consequently, the authors suggest that "the study of labor market environments, and entrance into these environments, might add greater insight into the nature of inequality than studying individual orientations to specific cultures" (1983, p. 88).

Whether or not Latinos want to be or are assimilated more or less quickly than other ethnic groups, they do seem to retain a sense of their cultural identity more tenaciously than other ethnic groups, possibly because of their proclivity for Spanish language and ties to Latino culture. Perhaps models that stress "acculturation," as opposed to assimilation, should be emphasized in dealing with issues of Latinos in the United States, models that work through processes of mass culture, such as ethnic studies in educational systems, awareness training in public service, etc. In this way, ethnic identity may be preserved through language, cultural expression, and ethnic ties, but values, beliefs, norms, and attitudes remain those of the dominant culture.

INCOME DIFFERENCES AMONG LATINOS

Despite the process of assimilation that is taking place

among Latinos, income inequality is increasing within the Latino population. Chiswick (1986), Borjas (1982, 1985, 1987) and others have documented substantial differences in earnings for different Latino groups as well as between United States-born and immigrant Latino workers. Although assimilation might close the differences between Latinos and non-Latinos, attention should be paid to current and growing inequalities among Latino groups. Valencia (1987) has noted, for example, that there were 381,000 affluent Latino households with incomes of more than $50,000 in 1985, and these represented 7.3 percent of all Hispanic households. Thus, although Hispanics as a group have low earnings, some have fared better economically than others, but a substantially large number remain poor even though they may have assimilated.

The poverty situation of Latinos as a group is not simply a matter of educational deprivation, limited English speaking skills and assimilation. Long-settled Hispanics of New Mexico, Colorado, and other areas are bilingual and culturally adaptable to multiethnic settings (Cook, 1986). Yet, these Latinos are relatively poor compared to others. This suggests that effective policies to promote the economic advancement of Latinos in the United States cannot be designed without some understanding of why some members of the Hispanic population are progressing economically while others are not. In other words, why do we find large numbers of English-speaking, educated Latinos living in particular areas, who are still poor. This phenomenon suggests that we should be interested in how the characteristics of the communities in which Hispanics live affect their economic progress.

Poverty has been steepest for Latinos in the Southwest, the major location of Chicanos, and the Puerto Ricans of the East, compared to all other Latinos. Since the Southwest borders Mexico, large-scale immigration of Mexicans to the region has increased the number of workers with little or no United States labor market experience (Browning and de la Garza, 1986). This has increased the competition for jobs, depressed earnings opportunities, and lowered the average of work experience. Tienda and Lii (1987) found with census data that Latino and nonwhite workers, compared with their white counterparts, lost earnings from residing and working in labor markets with a large share of minority residents. On the other hand white workers in minority settings had much higher earnings, even if their education was not higher. According to Tienda and Lii:

> That college-educated whites gained most from minority concentration emphasized how both ascribed (race) and achieved (education) identifiers must coincide to generate white earnings advantages. Considered by themselves, neither racial nor educational divisions explain fully how earnings disparities are accentuated by the ethnic composition of labor markets (from *Abstract*, 1987).

Adding to the complexity of the matter is the process of immigration, which affects Latinos more than other ethnic groups. As indicated earlier, Latinos aid Latino immigrants into United States communities. Thus, Latino concentration in geographic areas increases with Latino immigration. With the recent passage of the Simpson-Rodino Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, it was assumed that greater control of the Mexican border and employment of millions of undocumented aliens would ameliorate the poverty conditions faced by Chicanos. However, much of the immigration policy was based on normative judgments and conjecture of policy makers rather than on empirical evidence of net benefits from reform. Given the current trend of increasing Latino poverty levels in the Southwest, it is incumbent upon researchers to study the economic impacts of immigration reform, both in the United States, in the sending nations, and in terms of the structural transformation of industry, occupations, and employment in areas of Latino concentration. Edited books by Foner (1987), Browning and de la Garza (1986), Briggs and Tienda (1985) and research by Bach (1986), Portes and Bach (1985), and Massey et. al. (1987) have provided some empirical data and theoretical groundwork for such enquiry. Nonetheless, the fact that the immigration process is dynamic adds to the complexity of understanding the Latino community. Ongoing immigration continuously alters the composition of the Latino groups, their geographic locus, degrees of assimilation in our society, and their economic opportunities for the future.

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

Problems of education, English proficiency, assimilation, and immigration have compounded the economic problems of the Latinos. But related to these issues are conditions of continued high unemployment and concentration in a large number of low-paying jobs that fail to lift Latino families above the poverty threshold. Even for the Latinos who worked full time, year round in 1985, the census data indicated that one of every 15 of these Latinos was poor. A further problem is that Latinos are in occupations with little job security and few opportunities for movement up a career ladder.

Since 1973, when annual data on the employment status of Latinos first became available, Latino unemployment rates have been consistently higher than those for non-Latinos; more than 1.6 times higher than the unemployment rates of whites. In 1987, the Latino rate of

unemployment reached 8.2 percent and that of whites, 5.1 percent. Unemployment rates among Latinos and non-Latinos 16 years old and over decreased between March 1982 and March 1987. However, the unemployment rate of Latinos remains high.

Some reports suggest that the unemployment situation for Latinos reflects the changing economic conditions of the nation; i.e., when the economy turns down, so do the jobs available for Latinos. But how can we explain the persistent higher level of unemployment for Latinos during good times? In an attempt to explain the pattern of Latino unemployment, Garcia (1983) analyzed unemployment rates during the '70s and focused on the times of very high and low national unemployment. His findings indicated that the aggregate rate of joblessness among Mexican Americans was both larger and more sensitive to downturns in the economy than it was for whites. This was true for both women and men. Garcia also discovered that Mexican-American women *(Chicanas)* experienced longer periods of unemployment after downturns in the economy. The reason for the slower re-entrance of Chicanas into jobs has not been studied, but it might be hypothesized that once out of the labor market and at home, it is more difficult for Chicanas to reassert their positions as breadwinners for the family.

In a more recent study with employment data for 1973 through 1984, DeFreitas (1986) spotted the same trend of persistently high Latino unemployment as Garcia. He added, however, that "regardless of sex or age, Latinos are less likely than whites to be unemployed due to quitting their last job and considerably more likely to have been indefinitely laid off or fired" (1986, p. 41). Part of the explanation for higher unemployment facing Latinos might be found by examining rates of unemployment by different age groups. Typically persons within the 16 to 21 age group have the highest rates of unemployment in the labor force. In fact within this age group, nearly 40 percent of the blacks and 30 percent of the Latinos can be found unemployed during the year (Santos, 1985, pp. 55-77). As indicated by Santos, during this age relatively large numbers of young Latinos are in the labor force, out of school, and seeking regular employment when and where jobs are scarce, because they need money. More than likely, Chicano youth are left to look for jobs requiring low wage skills.

The combination of high unemployment rates together with low school enrollment, whatever the reasons, results in a precarious situation for Latino youth. They are not only unemployed and possibly discouraged from seeking employment, but are similarly discouraged from seeking further education and job skills.

LATINO OCCUPATIONS AND EARNINGS

This brings us to the issue about the occupations held by Latinos; are they destined to be relegated to jobs with inherently high employee turnover and unemployment, such as agricultural work? Labor statistics show that about one-fourth of Latinos are in operative occupations, such as manufacturing machine operators, service station attendants, and truck drivers. This is about twice the proportion for non-Latinos (Silvestri and Lukasiewicz, 1987). Although 9 to 10 percent of Latinos are employed as professional and technical workers, almost double that proportion of non-Latinos are employed in these flelds. Furthermore, employed Latinos are less likely to be working as managers and administrators than non-Latinos. This pattern of employment is expected to continue to the year 2000 because of poor education and training (Silvestri and Lukasiewicz, 1987).

In an earlier study by Kane (1979) the occupational patterns of Chicanos were traced between 1969 and 1975, a period which included a major recession. Kane discovered:

> That the recession hurt the future income potential of Chicanos as well as their current incomes. In general, the recession has forced Chicanos into occupational groups for which future employment is expected to decline relative to total employment, and in which relative wages can be expected to fall as well.... By 1975 only 33 percent of Chicanos were located in expanding occupations (1979, pp. 28-29).

Latinos are not only concentrated disproportionately into blue collar jobs, but are at the low end of the pay scale within many of these job categories (Shapiro, 1984; Verdugo and Verdugo, 1984). Just to get an idea of the general pattern of earnings suggested, the median salary income for work performed as an employee during 1985 was: $13,587 for whites; $10,883 for blacks; and $10,358 for Latinos (United States Bureau of the Census, No. 156, 1987). In addition, a study on earnings between 1979 to 1984 by Mellor and Haugen (1986) showed that the Latino-to-white earnings ratio, which has hovered around 90 percent, is lower than the ratio of black-to-white earnings, holding gender constant. Moreover, since 1982, the overall Latino-to-white ratio has steadily declined, with a similar trend experienced by blacks. Reimer's 1984 study concluded that the most important single reason for lower earnings of Latinos and blacks is lower wages, even after differences in age, education, and regional distribution were controlled. Someday, a systematic study will be conducted of how and why Latinos are relegated to occupations characterzed by low wages and high employee turnover or unemployment. For now the facts indicate that Latinos are mostly

channeled into low earning occupations of the labor market because of their limited education and English proficiency. There is a tendency to be channeled this way because they are geographically concentrated into communities which are dominated by non-Latino investors.

LABOR MARKET PROSPECTS

Latinos are projected to become an ever-increasing part of the labor force in the coming decades. Since 1982, Latino employment has risen by 31 percent, the result of sharp increases in both the population level and the percent who are employed. Black and white employment levels increased by 21 and 10 percent, respectively. In 1986, the number of Latinos in the labor force totaled about 8.1 million. Latino workers are projected to grow by 6 million by the year 2000, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Fullerton, Jr., 1987). That means an increase by 75 percent, or an average of 4.1 percent per year, between 1986 and 2000. However, during the same period, the occupational categories requiring the least educational preparation are expected to grow slowly or decline, except for the rapidly growing service workers. Already, an estimated 1.5 million workers have been permanently displaced in the 1980s, their skills obsolete due to a continuing shift from manufacturing to high technology and service industries, and to international competition (Kutscher, 1987). These conditions will apparently continue.

Figures projected for the rest of the century for the entire economy point to further disruptions in the labor market, many times more severe than in earlier periods. On the other hand, employment in the broad occupational groups that require the most educational preparation—such as executive, administrative, and managerial workers; professional workers; and technicians and related support workers—will grow faster than average (Silvestri and Lukasiewicz, 1987). The nature of the work will also change. It is not so much that jobs will become "high tech" but that technology will alter how they are performed. By 1990, an estimated three out of four jobs will require some education or technical training beyond high school. However, the number of jobs requiring college degrees is not expected to change significantly. The implications of these future occupational conditions are profound. Because Latinos are currently the least advantaged in terms of their skill levels, English proficiency, and educational backgrounds, the transition for them will be particularly difficult. In contrast to their rising share of new entrants into the labor force, Latinos will hold a declining fraction of all jobs if they simply retain existing shares of various occupations (Johnston, 1987, pp. 101-102). Unless Latinos improve educational accomplishment vis-à-vis future labor market conditions, they may be relegated to declining categories of low-wage employment.

Johnston (1987) believes that:

> The good fortune to be born in or to immigrate to the United States will make less difference than the luck or initiative to be well-educated and well-trained. For individuals, the good jobs of the future will belong to those who have skills that enable them to be productive in a high-skill, service economy (p. 103).

THE POTENTIAL FOR LATINO ENTREPRENEURS

In the preceding text we have reviewed the current demographic, economic, educational, and occupational status of Latinos. This overall dismal and depressing state compels us to be extremely concerned with several major problems. Indeed, some scholars have concluded that a time bomb is in the making unless drastic steps are taken to correct complex issues like high fertility, poor education and English, low income and employment disparities.

While doubtless there are tremendous burdens to overcome, we must be equally convinced of a promising future in which Latinos can contribute directly to a better future. Latinos show major population growth in key economic regions of the United States: Texas, Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, and Miami. Latinos are largely an untapped market for many businesses and economic opportunities. As Latino groups gain in sheer numbers and in their overall purchasing power as an ethnic group, purveyors of services and products will have to ultimately aim their messages specifically at Latinos. John J. Wilczak, president of Harvard Consulting, reportedly estimated that Latinos nationwide have a purchasing power of about $134 billion—$40 billion in California alone (Alcott, 1987). Valencia (Dec., 1986), reported from census data that Latinos made $84.8 billion in aggregate after-tax money income during 1984. In a later article Valencia (Dec., 1987), added that the after-tax money income of Latinos rose by 10.4 percent to $93.4 billion in 1985. Using the annual growth rate of 12.5 percent in after-tax money from 1980 to 1984, Valencia estimated the size of the Latino purchasing power at $107.3 billion in 1986 and $172 billion by 1990 (Dec., 1986). Valencia determined that the largest amount of purchasing power by age is concentrated among middle-age married Latinos, where the head is between 25 and 44 years of age, living in either the Western or Southern regions of the United States. Clearly Latinos' purchasing power is growing fast, faster than for whites or blacks, among an increas-

ing number of Latino households.

In order to reach and sell to this growing Latino market it is evident that Latinos will be in the best position to understand it—in terms of language, and its importance; the culture and customs; and the strong family orientation that governs household decision-making. More importantly, in order to tap this tremendous wealth, Latinos and business leaders will need to shape the following key elements:

- Recognizing the significance of the Latino market,
- Securing commitment from business and corporate leaders,
- Providing technical assistance and financial support to Latino entrepreneurs,
- Targeting specific populations in marketing and in business development,
- Engaging Latino expert professionals on staff and as contractors to corporate firms,
- Encouraging Latinos and non-Latinos to invest in each other and grow together (Hispanic Policy Development Project).

LATINO BUSINESS

A look at data from the Economic Census reports, published every five years, reveals 219,335 Latino-owned firms in 1977, compared with 117,000 in 1972. In 1977, Latino firms accounted for 2.2 percent of the 10 million firms in this country and registered sales of $10.4 billion. Latinos owned 2.4 percent of construction; 2.1 percent of manufacturing: 2.6 percent of transportation and public utilities; 2.4 percent of wholesale and retail trade; 0.9 percent of finance, insurance, and real estate; and 2.4 percent of services. For each industry, the proportion of Latino firms was small, each below 3 percent, but business ownership was not concentrated in only one or two types of industry.

Census Bureau figures for the period 1977-82 show the number of Latino-owned firms increasing by 13.1 percent and total sales by 44.2 percent. In absolute terms, Latino companies numbered 248,141 in 1982 with sales of $15 billion. The growth cited may not indicate a proliferation of Latino businesses as much as an improvement in the Census Bureau's survey methods. Still, the notable expansion in sales represents growth in economic power.

Latino-owned businesses are defined by the Census Bureau to include individual proprietorships owned by Latinos, and partnerships and corporations in which at least half the shares are owned by Latinos. In 1982, the distribution of Latino-owned firms by numbers and sales (in thousands of dollars) was as follows:

Table 2

Latino-Owned Businesses in the United States, 1982

Firms	Number	%	$1,000	%
Services	98,279	39.6	3,205,324	21.4
Retail Trade	58,274	23.5	4,850,021	32.4
Construction	26,699	10.8	1,466,338	9.8
Trans & Pub. Util.	3,155	5.3	656,437	4.4
Fin.,Ins., & Real Es.	11,123	4.5	416,632	2.8
Ag., Fish.& Mining	7,640	3.1	239,487	1.6
Manufacturing	4,364	1.8	1,588,714	10.6
Wholesale Trade	3,623	1.5	1,816,631	12.1
Others Not Classified	24,983	10.1	736,751	4.9

According to a report in *Hispanic Business* by Guedella (January, 1987), California had the largest number of Latino-owned firms in 1982, 74,998, which generated gross receipts of $4.2 billion. Texas was second with 61,540 companies and gross sales of $3.4 billion. Miami alone has 24,898 Latino-owned businesses. The New York City-New Jersey SMSA was fourth with 12,292 firms reporting $881.6 million in sales. Latino-owned firms with paid employees accounted for 16.1 percent of the total number of companies, employing 190,000 people. Latino retailers topped the list, employing 65,000 workers, followed by service companies with 52,000. Furthermore, about 58 percent of the 248,141 Latino-owned firms were held by Mexican Americans (143,177 firms). Cubans owned 15 percent of the firms (36,631) and Puerto Ricans owned 6 percent (14,690).

But absolute numbers can be misleading because we would expect more businesses in areas with large Latino populations. A better indicator of the strength of Latino business is the number of Latino-owned businesses per 1,000 Latinos in the population, or the Latino business rate. Nationally the rate is 17 businesses per 1,000. Miami has the highest rate, 42.9 Latino-owned businesses per 1,000 Latinos. The Los Angeles-Long Beach business rate is 14.5/1,000; far lower than Miami's and lower than the national average (O'Hare, 1987).

According to O'Hare, Cuban Americans are behind most Latino businesses in the Florida metropolitan areas. Furthermore, he notes that:

> There is little relationship between the educational level of the local Latino population and the rate of Latino business participation. But there is a strong positive correlation between the strength of Latino business and the level of local Latino income rela-

tive to white income. In areas where Latinos earn high incomes relative to whites, there is a higher Latino businesses rate (O'Hare, 1987, p. 32).

The link between capital, entrepreneurial activity, and wealth is clear in the Cuban community, and a workable combination of ideas is available that could spread throughout all Latino communities of the United States That is, with increasing wealth in Latino communities, Latino businesses should grow, and vice-versa.

Self-employment is also an important aspect of the Latino business experience in the United States. Self-employment is also related to immigration. For example, Borjas (1986) has shown in the Cuban experience that: (1) Recent Cuban immigration cohorts have higher self-employment rates than earlier cohorts. (2) Immigrants are more likely to be self-employed than similarly skilled native-born workers. A major reason for this pattern, according to Borjas, is that geographic enclaves of immigrants increase self-employment opportunities, particularly for immigrants who share the same national background or language as the residents of the enclave. If these conclusions hold and various segments of the Latino population really represent different generations of immigrants, then the continuing immigration should generate further commercial development.

In June 1987, *Hispanic Business* published its annual list of the top 500 companies owned by Latinos. Taken together, they showed aggregate sales of $9.89 billion, compared to $8.7 billion in 1985. They covered a wide variety of industries. For example: 1st, Bacardi Imports, Inc., with $424.61 million in 1986 sales; 2d, International Medical Centers, $419.60 million; and 3d, Banco Popular de Puerto Rico, $405.97 million. The list is an impressive indication of dynamic business activities and economic success in a variety of industries.

There are two further observations that should be made about the business activities of Latinos in the United States. One is that Latino firms tend to hire minorities, but not women. According to the Census report, "Characteristics of Business Owners" (1987), partially financed by the Minority Business Development Agency, companies owned by Latinos and blacks hired fewer women than other businesses, but nearly half had a work force consisting of 75 percent to 100 percent minorities. The first part of the equation is good, i.e. about the hiring of minorities; but the second part about not hiring women is one that should be corrected. The second point refers to the same study which found that two-thirds of minority business owners started their companies without borrowing capital. In some cases start-up capital wasn't required, while others used assets from their family savings. About 64 percent of Latino owners began their businesses with less than $5,000 in capital. This level of capital investment can support only small business starts. The small investments also suggest very limited wealth portfolios in Latino families.

Very little research has been carried out on the flow of funds, the institutional sources of credit, and the levels of investments in Latino businesses. The book by Dominguez (1976) is perhaps the only one of its kind regarding Latinos. His findings are distressing: (1) minorities because of their poverty status seldom get beyond the lowest tier of credit, the stratum that plays host to pawnbrokers, loan sharks, and ghetto merchants; (2) Mexican Americans have very limited inroads into the banking industry; and (3) "Due to undercapitalization, many Mexican-American firms are unable to start with a paid staff and as a result of this smallness, they continue to operate with limited help, even though positive incremental revenues may be realized by increasing their work force. Consequently, those that are able to have paid employees manage to enjoy greater per capita revenues" (Dominguez, 1976, p. 140). It is highly likely that this same conclusion could be stated today.

CONCLUSIONS

There is no easy solution to the complex set of economic issues discussed above. It is apparent, however, that continued efforts are needed to encourage and support higher aspirations for educational attainment among Latinos. That activity could be promoted by focusing on functional illiterates and programs to increase high school completion rates. The research suggests high economic returns to such investments.

Other activity should be aimed at developing the employability of the growing population of Latino workers. The youthfulness of the Latino population and its burgeoning size have been identified as major problems for Latino communities in the future. Without substantial adjustments in tune to changes in the labor market, Latinos will have a smaller fraction of the jobs by the year 2000 than they have today, while their share of those seeking work will have risen.

It is apparent that more attention needs to be given to developing Hispanics as a positive resource and not as a burden on society. In regards to future earnings and employment, each year of delay makes it more difficult to turn things around.

In the worst-case scenario, by the year 2000, Latinos will be left largely to declining-in-number, low-wage, limited-skill jobs, unless new programs for Latinos are supported. Yet, at this time, few policies are being designed and coordinated to handle the upcoming displacement of Latino workers. Centers for career planning and placement could be mobilized to support educational goals and English training. In this regard, business and

government could adopt strategies to help make English proficiency and school more effective. One model of business, government, and educational cooperation is the federal Job Training Partnership Act, which requires that potential employers help to oversee training programs for disadvantaged adults so that the training maximizes the probability of getting a job. This model could be studied further with attention to Latino rates of participation. Another possibility is the Individual Retraining Accounts proposed by the Reagan administration and several Democratic candidates in 1988. The idea is to enable workers to deduct contributions into accounts that could be used for retraining when workers' careers are disrupted. Such a system would impose new responsibilities on schools since they would have to develop flexible programs for adult students anxious to re-enter the work force. This mobilization would probably require constant checks and monitoring to make sure successes are evident.

Traditional job training and employment programs by themselves are unlikely to have profound impacts on the future success of Latinos. If new efforts to train and employ Latinos are to succeed where earlier efforts have failed, both individual attitudes and social institutions must also change. Radical changes may be required in the public educational system in order to succeed with Latinos. If anything, the added Latino numbers will require a flexible school system for educating a more diverse student body. In school districts with the most serious problems, experiments with government-supported vouchers could be considered, allowing students to shop for the educational programs that suit them best, thereby forcing school districts to improve their offerings. Such schools could also be more directly linked to employers who will hire graduating Latinos. The reason for establishing a formal linkage between school and work is that, even though unemployment rates fall with age, poor early experiences in the labor market usually lower lifetime earnings (Bouvier and Martin, 1987).

The complex interconnections among family structure, education, work, income, and living environments make it evident that problems cannot be solved by government fiat. Issues of individual initiative and entrepreneurship must also be considered. However, more support and research are needed on programs that could promote the entrepreneurial capabilities of Latinos, to develop their capital formation skills, and to promote business role models for others. Business programs that are usually left to business specialists of the private sector and financial institutions tend to bypass Latino communities. Latinos could be encouraged more to pursue education with an eye to private business careers; the Latino market is too big and untapped to be left solely to non-Latino investors. That impetus could also include efforts to enhance the belief that Latinos have many positive business attributes which can help make them successful at anything they wish to do.

Poverty is the result of extenuated problems, a condition which must be addressed to raise the economic aspirations and opportunities of Latinos. To date, very little research has gone into understanding the correlates, trends, dimensions, and implications of Latino poverty. That also means specific attention to Latino single-headed households, children, and elders. Studies by Angel and Tienda (1982) and Frisbie, McCall, and Mutchler (1983) offer some insights, but the problems require more attention. A subject in need of much more research and information is the female-headed household and the opportunities for different occupations and employment for them. Is child care or family planning needed? Or are the issues facing Latinos more related to culture, customs, and family ties?

In recent times, general attention has strayed from the socioeconomic problems of Latinos to other issues which the governing society considers more crucial. Federal indebtedness and international trade are two such issues. While these are worthwhile concerns, they should not consume society's attention at the expense of interest in people's needs. By the turn of the century, if progress is to be made in alleviating the plight of Latinos, it will be necessary for society to mount a bona fide effort to meet its social responsibility to a growing minority whose quest is parity citizenship.

Finally, it is apparent that more attention is needed in developing the image of Latinos as a positive resource and not as a burden on society. Numerous studies and reports tend to portray a negative, self-inflicted condition facing Latinos. Relatively little has been reported on the economic contributions of Latinos to society. Too much negativism conveys futility for Latinos. On the other hand, positive approaches to today's issues and tomorrow's challenges can instill more hope for all.

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Challenges and Opportunities: Four Sides of the Same Coin

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INTRODUCTION

The title of this paper suggests the complex nature of the challenges and opportunities faced by both the Latino community in the United States and by United States society in general. This relationship has four distinct sides. First, in the more traditional sense, we, the Latino community, face great challenges, which can also be defined more negatively as barriers, problems, or roadblocks. On the other hand, we face increasing opportunities as well. Nevertheless, the interactive nature of this relationship, representing the third and fourth sides of the coin, is seldom addressed. The responsibility for coping with both the challenges and opportunities is placed squarely on the shoulders of only the Latino community, resulting in the "blaming-the-victim" syndrome so aptly described by Ryan (1976)—a syndrome in which the victims of society's policies and structures are blamed for their own victimization. It is all too convenient to thus scapegoat those who suffer most from the inequities of society.

For this reason, it is necessary to expand the way in which we perceive challenges and opportunities to include not only Latinos' responses to and interactions with United States society but also, conversely, the reactions and interactions of society in general to the presence of Latinos in the United States. This interactive relationship represents the four sides of the coin alluded to in the title. As we look at the issue in this less traditional way, then, we see that United States society faces great opportunities in thinking about and planning how best to use the cultural diversity of the United States, of which the Latino community is but one example. The country's policies and practices are likewise challenged by the Latino community in a number of ways, including their conceptions of identity and language maintenance, both of which are unique in the history of the United States.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the complex web of challenges and opportunities faced by Latinos and United States society in order to suggest a possible framework for the development of resource guides focusing on "Latinos in the Making of the United States of America: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." First, the assumptions guiding this effort will be spelled out. Then, the issues that emerge from the themes will be elucidated and analyzed. Suggestions for presenting the issues will be advanced, along with possible consequences of addressing these themes in resource guides for young people in our schools.

There are several assumptions underlying the themes presented in this paper. The first has to do with the target group for whom the resulting resource guides are intended. Unlike curriculum guides centering on so-called minorities that aim to highlight the contributions of such groups in order to heighten the self-concept of children from these communities, the resource guides resulting from this paper are for *all* students from *all* communities and backgrounds. Most school curricula, as they now exist, are monocultural in nature. That is, they tend to present reality only from the perspective of the dominant cultural group in a society. (See, for example, the CIBC, 1978). The result of such curricula, intended or not, is to perpetuate the myth of superiority of one group over another and therefore to denigrate the histories, contributions, and lifestyles of other groups. While the purpose of the resource guides should not be to raise the self-concept of Latino children (even if it were possible for a curriculum to do so, recent research seems to refute the conventional wisdom that Latinos and other children of color have poor self-concepts),[1] their purpose should be at least to provide a clearer and more complete picture of the presence of Latinos throughout the history of what is now the United States. In so doing, we will be helping

[1] Some researchers now question the widely accepted hypothesis that children of color have poor self-concepts. These researchers (Goodman, 1972; Mack, 1981; McCarthy and Yancy, 1971; Nobles, 1972) suggest that the evidence leading to the hypothesis of lower self-esteem is really quite weak and that the hypothesis serves only to reinforce the idea of white superiority.

young people to develop a more realistic vision of United States history and culture. Students of all backgrounds will benefit, Latinos by studying and learning to appreciate their own history and culture, and non-Latinos by learning about and being enriched with perspectives of other cultures.

A second assumption underlying this work is that history and culture are too dynamic to be written about as if frozen in space. On the contrary, the themes presented here should be treated as a work in progress, constantly changing and subject to revision. The resource units should echo this concern as well, both in process and content, so that young people learn to view history and culture as a complex web of interrelated issues rather than as a series of facts to be memorized and quaint folklore to be idealized.

Finally, this work assumes that all education is, in the words of Paulo Freire, a "political act" (Freire, 1970). That is, all educational practices, decisions, strategies, and policies are fundamentally political in the sense that they either justify or challenge the status quo. Just as the exclusion of certain groups from consideration in educational curricula implies a decision of what is important to learn and what is not, so too the inclusion of such groups signals a recognition of their importance to United States society. That is one way in which this paper is political. Another dimension of its political nature is in the recommendation that the issues should be addressed with a critical analysis and through a student-centered curriculum. This focus on the structure of the educational environment underscores the importance of student reflection and dialogue as a basis for learning. Thus, the issue of student empowerment is at the very core of this curriculum effort. That is the second way in which this paper is political.

ISSUES INHERENT IN THE THEME

Contributions of Latinos to United States Society

We will now turn to some of the issues that emerge from the theme "challenges and opportunities." First, we will address the issue of contributions of Latinos to United States society—a more complicated issue than may first meet the eye. Those who have gained the public spotlight or who have excelled in the arts, the sciences, or public life are thought to be accomplished people and are therefore recognized as worthy of being acknowledged as such. They are considered as having "contributed" to United States culture and society. There are, however, several problems with this conception of contribution. The first, of course, is that it smacks of paternalism and elitism, for only those who have "contributed" in ways defined by others are thought to be successful. Therefore, if we glance even superficially at traditionally accepted indices of success and accomplishment, we might very well conclude that Latinos are not contributing very much at all to United States society. In the latest report issued by the Census Bureau (1988), data is evident which reveals a dismal picture of our situation in the United States. While our numbers increased by 61 percent from 1970 to 1983 and by 17 percent in just the period from 1980 to 1985 (to nearly 17 million), no concurrent qualitative progress can be seen in the areas of housing, employment, or education. In some cases, the situation has gotten worse. For example, while the proportion of Hispanics 25 years of age and over who completed four years of high school or more was higher in 1985 than in 1980 (48 percent compared with 45 percent), it was hardly a significant difference, for the non-Hispanic population experienced a slightly better improvement (from 72 percent to 76 percent). The unemployment rate among Hispanics decreased only slightly, from 13.4 percent in 1982 to 11.3 percent in 1985. Worse still, while the median income of Hispanic families in 1984 ($18,000) was about 14 percent above the 1981 level, there was no change in real median income after adjusting for the 14 percent increase in consumer prices. In contrast, the real median income for non-Hispanics increased by 3.5 percent to $27,000. In fact, the poverty rate for Hispanic families in 1984 (25 percent) was more than double the proportion for non-Hispanic families. For Puerto Rican families, the poverty rate was the highest among Hispanic groups (42 percent); for Cuban families, it was the lowest (13 percent). Obviously, then, numbers alone will not change our relative position in this society. In fact, we could almost say that the larger the number of Latinos, the more oppressive conditions seem to become. The statistics reveal an increasingly harsh reality for the majority of Latinos living in the United States.

It is clear that we cannot rely on these all-too-limited indications of success to determine what contributions Latinos have made to United States life. I would like to turn to other definitions of success which might reveal something more about the lives of Latinos in the United States and consequently to considerations of our *genuine* contributions. These will refer not to individual accomplishments, but rather to the achievements of our community as a whole. While the contributions of people such as Roberto Clemente, Rita Moreno, Rubén Blades, and Edward James Olmos should not be belittled, it is important to recognize that such "superstars" do not by themselves define the texture and complexity of our lives as thoroughly as do our achievements as a people. It is in this totality, as factory workers and teachers, as housewives and union organizers, as students and farm workers, that we can best describe who we are.

The accomplishments of Latinos can be seen in many arenas, from influences on United States culture to improvements in local communities. These are the kinds of accomplishments on which a curriculum concerned with this issue should focus. Let me begin with what I believe is our most basic achievement: *we are surviving*. While this may not seem like much to some people, it is no mean feat, given the level of sustained oppression faced by the Latino community as a whole. And not only are we surviving and growing, but we are here to stay. The desire to return to a beloved homeland is still strong among many Latinos; indeed, it is the major theme of much of our literature and music. But the hard, cold reality is that we, as a *community*, are here to stay. We are an indelible and enduring part of United States society. This survival is an indication of the perseverance and vitality of our community.

Secondly, our culture is surviving. The "melting pot" theory which for so long dominated our thinking in this country has finally, in the past two decades, been questioned. The genocidal effects of the theory on cultures and languages is finally being understood by many people. The grandchildren of its victims now question the validity of the melting pot, recognizing the loss of language, of identity, and of family that it caused. On the other hand, we Latinos have been here—many of us for generations—and our culture is not only not dead but is in fact thriving. A surprising number of second-, third-, and even fourth-generation Latinos still speak Spanish; even those who do not, still carry with them manifestations of their culture. In a study done just four years ago, it was found that Latinos' cultural identification is stronger now than ever (Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., 1984). Doubtlessly, this is on some level a response to alienation and rejection by the larger society. On another level, however, it is a reaffirmation of values and of family. It is due, as well, to the growing numbers of Latinos coming into the country every year, thus stimulating and renewing our culture on an ongoing basis.

To say that our culture is surviving is not meant to imply a simple transplanting of Puerto Rican or Colombian or Venezuelan culture in the United States. This would be not only impossible but also dysfunctional. Rather, our culture is surviving because it is being recreated so that it works for Latinos' present situations. It is being fashioned into something that is not quite the original culture, yet not a replication of United States culture. This is true in our language, in our family relationships, in the way we celebrate holidays, in our food, in our music and dance, in the way we dress, and even in the way we drive our cars. The result is a dynamic culture strengthened precisely because it reflects the resilience and tenacity of our communities in the United States.

Another indication of our accomplishments is that we, as a people, are influencing and informing the larger society. While this influence is often unacknowledged, it is nevertheless there, in ways both obvious and subtle. For example, a dozen years ago many New Yorkers and others in northeastern urban areas would probably not have known what a *bodega* is, yet many now shop in these small convenience stores selling tropical products. Increasingly, the larger community has been made aware of *Cinco de Mayo*, *salsa*, and Three Kings' Day. Rising numbers of non-Latino families celebrate a youngster's birthday party with a store-bought or homemade piñata. More and more social workers, doctors, and other health professionals are becoming aware of the role of *espiritistas* or *curanderos* in the lives of many Latinos, and some programs have even incorporated them into their service teams. Bilingual education has become, if not an accepted educational program, at least one that is no longer as vulnerable as it once was. Not too many politicians will attack it openly, knowing very well that our communities will immediately react to protect it. Increasingly, also, people in the larger community are devoting serious attention to the task of learning the Spanish language, recognizing the importance it has in communicating with a sizable segment of society and of the world. The importance of knowing the Spanish language recently became evident when both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Democratic Party in the 1988 election made clear, and claimed as a great advantage, their fluency in Spanish.

Finally, our role in helping to develop a culturally pluralistic consciousness in United States society should be acknowledged. This is not to claim that we Latinos have a monopoly on the market for bringing about such a consciousness. Rather, our very presence, as well as that of other cultural, racial, and linguistic groups, forces our society to deal with diversity. We cannot be ignored. The fact that we, as a people, have also insisted on maintaining our language and living our culture adds to the tension between what is often called "Anglo conformity" and true cultural pluralism. Bringing these antagonisms into sharper focus is something that our community has learned to do well, through our struggles for bilingual education, through our protests against stereotyping in Hollywood films, through our insistence that politicians take the heat when they have made racist and ethnocentric remarks about our community. Standing up for our civil and human rights, then, becomes one more way of humanizing an entire culture, and we Latinos, as well as all others who have struggled for these rights, can thus claim some credit for advancing the rights of all Americans.

We can now look at the issue of "contributions of Latinos" in a fundamentally different way. If by contribution we mean the move toward self-definition, creative survival, self-determination, and empowerment, we have indeed contributed a great deal to United States society. Not only are Latinos informing the larger society, but we are enriching it as well because we are giving others a different way of looking at the world.[2]

What It Means To Be Latino in the United States

Another issue that emerges from the theme concerns what it means to be Latino in the United States. This is, in fact, at the very heart of the challenges and opportunities which we face. It can safely be argued that Latinos are not very different from former immigrant groups in at least one way: we seek economic security and a good life, as well as a happy future for our children. Nevertheless, the "good life" for Latinos has rarely included the push toward assimilation and the cultural rejection which earlier groups had to endure and to which we also are subjected. On the contrary, the Latino community has demonstrated a fierce tenacity with respect to preserving language and culture while at the same time becoming productive members of United States society. There is absolutely no contradiction here, at least in the minds of many in the Latino community. A good example of this lies in the area of education. While parents have always understood the importance of and have supported their children's learning and mastering English, they have just as steadfastly continued to use Spanish in the home and to maintain their cultural values and practices. That is, for the Latino community there does not seem to be an inherent conflict between getting a good education and remaining who we are. This determination can be documented: in spite of the fact that Latinos have been in this country for years, many for generations, and some for centuries, fully 80 percent of them still live in households in which Spanish is spoken (National Council of La Raza, 1982).

This does not mean that it is easy to define what it means to be a Latino in the United States. We are many, many people with many stories and realities. We are a Mexican American whose family has been here for generations; we are a newly arrived Salvadorean fleeing persecution; we are a second-generation Puerto Rican family trying to make ends meet in a Northeast urban ghetto; we speak English and/or Spanish and varieties of everything in between (in the poetry of Sandra María Esteves, "I speak two languages broken into each other..."); [3] we are extended families as well as single parents, only children as well as one of eight; we live in the tropical urban areas of Florida as well as in the far reaches of New Hampshire; we are black, white, and every conceivable shade in between. We are, in summary, as complex and as diverse as any other group of people, and probably more so than most. To do us justice, any curriculum attempting to define who we are must include this multiplicity of voices.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES: A CASE STUDY

We will now turn to a specific case study, that of education, in order to consider the challenges and opportunities faced by both Latinos and United States society in general. By looking at a specific area such as education, we may reach a way of understanding the Latino experience with the educational system. In the curriculum itself, the implications of these experiences may be applied to other key areas of concern to Latinos.

Perhaps the most critical issue facing Latinos today is that of education. To understand what the challenges and opportunities are, we must first be aware of the present reality. We can begin by looking at grade-level placement in schools. In a recent report published by the National Council of La Raza (Orum, 1986), it was determined that approximately 28 percent of Latino children in grades one through four are enrolled below grade level. Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans are the most likely to be in this situation. Nor does it get better as Latinos go up the grades: by the time they reach high school, 43 percent are behind grade level. The same report finds that the level of illiteracy is higher for Latinos than for any other major population group. Additionally, only 47.9 percent of Latinos over 25 years of age have completed high school, compared to 75.5 percent of the general population.

Those students who choose to remain in school do not fare well either. As they move up the grades, stratification intensifies. Forty percent of all Latino students are in a general or noncollege track. Only 25 percent are in an academic track (National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics, 1984). Of course, the situation is even worse for those who leave school, the so-called

[2] Interestingly, a recent special issue of *Time* magazine devoted to Hispanic culture articulated this thought beautifully: "Ever ready to borrow the best from other cultures, America is celebrating the spirited sounds and shapes, the flavors and flirtations of Hispanic style. The new influence is changing the way the country eats, dresses, dances, plays, learns—the way it lives...And as they cross over into the American imagination, Hispanics are sending one irresistible message: we come bearing gifts." (*Time* magazine, v. 132, n. 2, July 11, 1988, p. 3).

[3] Sandra María Esteves. "María Cristina" in the record *El Grupo: Songs and Poetry of the Latin American Struggle*, Canto Libre Records, 1974.

dropouts. In fact, Latinos have the highest dropout rate of any group, generally acknowledged to be between 50 percent and 60 percent. The previously cited study found that in New York and Chicago, dropout rates of 80 percent and 70 percent are not uncommon. According to an analysis of census data by the ASPIRA Institute for Policy Research (1988), the 1985 high school completion rate for Latinos 18-24 years old was 62 percent, well below rates for blacks (73 percent) or whites (83 percent). While this represents an increase of 10 percent in the years from 1972 to 1985, it is still a critical situation.

Latinos are in poor shape in higher education as well. The ASPIRA report also documents the fact that, despite the upward growth in college enrollment, the proportion of black and Latino high school graduates enrolled in college has actually decreased since 1976 (from 46 percent to 40 percent). To put it more dramatically, the American Council on Education reported that of all first-year college students, only 1.78 percent were either Mexican American or Puerto Rican (ACE, 1982). Even more recent data conclude that the college dropout rate is alarmingly high for Latinos: while 12.2 percent enroll in college, only 5.3 percent graduate (Orum, 1986).

What are we to conclude from the foregoing data? Are Latinos doomed to failure in an educational system that shows no sign of responding to the needs of the community? Or must we wait a few generations, as the conventional wisdom maintains, to see some gains? The United States educational system and Latinos' place in it provide a clear example of the complexities involved in analyzing the challenges and opportunities of Latinos in the years ahead. Extreme interpretations—either that Latinos can never benefit from the educational system or that education will be our salvation from poverty and oppression—are simplistic and shortsighted. The issue is much more complicated.

Horace Mann's claim that education is "the great equalizer" has led many to an overly optimistic view of the merits of education. Another myth that goes hand in hand with this is that "newcomers" have always had to accept the lowest rung on the ladder of success and to bide their time until it was, so to speak, "their turn." In the end, their persistence, hard work, and loyalty would pay off, guaranteeing them the long-hoped-for piece of the American pie. The myth was created, of course, out of a reality that worked for millions of children of immigrants (although rarely for the immigrants themselves). The fact that the economic and political situation is markedly different today than it was in the first decades of the century, when manual jobs were plentiful and a strong back was the only requisite for getting ahead, is rarely considered when the myth is repeated. In addition, the fact that some of our "newcomers" (notably people of color, that is, Latinos, African Americans, and native Americans) have been in what is now the United States for hundreds of years does little to create doubts in the minds of millions of people that the myth has little basis in reality. In the face of some quite extraordinary evidence to the contrary, Latinos, among others, insist on extolling the virtues of education as our only hope.

While it is certainly true that individual Latinos have benefited from the educational system, it is equally certain that millions of young people have been both defeated and demoralized by a system that has treated the Latino community in largely unresponsive and negative ways. The data reviewed earlier on how Latinos are functioning in the educational system is cause for alarm and provides ample justification for a reinterpretation of how education benefits the Latino community. Bowles and Gintis, in their critique of United States education, state the premise as follows: "The educational system is an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing class structure of society."[4] In a massive study, they compared the number of years of schooling of students with the socioeconomic status of their parents. They found that those students whose parents were in the highest socioeconomic group tended to complete the most years of schooling. Furthermore, they claim that such a correlation was virtually the same five decades ago. This finding calls into serious question the claim that schooling, in and of itself, will move an entire group of people up the socioeconomic ladder. Although there are a few exceptions, the conclusion is obvious: education not only maintains class divisions but also solidifies them.

The matter, however, is much more complex than that. Education in the United States has never been either a one-way street or a mechanical process by which objectives from above are simply superimposed on a people. Rather, education has always been a dynamic process, pulling and pushing and making accommodations when necessary. Latinos, thus, have not only been pawns or victims of this process, but also have been active participants in defining education for their own ends and in their own way. The dialectic of education resides precisely in this process. Education in the Latino community has therefore been a constant struggle between two often diametrically opposed sets of objectives. A curriculum focusing on the challenges and opportunities of Latinos in the educational system must reflect this dialectic. A few examples of this dialectic in education will be provided.

Education as the gateway out of poverty and oppression has always been promoted by the Latino communi-

4 Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976.

ty. A recent study (ASPIRA, 1987) found that the top need of Hispanics in the Northeast was defined as increasing school attendance and reducing dropout rates. Another study (Cultural Communications Group, 1984) found that education and job training were the chief concerns of the Latino communities in the sites where interviews were conducted (New York, Los Angeles, San Antonio, Miami, and Chicago). The study also found that the two strongest psychological indicators of the Latino community were *optimism* and *self-confidence*, hardly signs of a community defeated by the system. In addition, the fact that the Latino community has had consistently high expectations of education has once again been documented by a number of recent studies (National Council of La Raza, 1982; National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics, 1984; NEA, 1987). All of these optimistic signs point to the tendency of a community to take from a system, in this case the educational system, what it needs, while at the same time not surrendering its very identity.

The educational struggles in which the Latino community has been involved reinforce this assertion. For example, the calls for desegregated schools in the 1950s and '60s, the demands for community control in the 1960s and '70s, and the struggle for bilingual education in the '70s and '80s can all be understood as demands for self-definition and self-determination. In fact, virtually every issue in which the Latino community has been involved, whether in education or not, has concerned defining who we are. Consequently, we can see that what the educational system has imposed has not always been what the Latino community has accepted. It bears repeating that the educational objectives of Latinos are in some respects quite different from those of schools. Certainly they coincide in some important ways, such as the acquisition of basic skills, preparation for work, and learning English. Nevertheless, the push and pull of Latinos vis-à-vis education is clear. We have never simply been recipients of education, but rather we have attempted to influence both the means and the ends of our education.

This brief case study is provided for two reasons. First of all, education is often the most precise indicator both of how a group perceives itself and of how it is perceived by the general society. In this way, educational data tell us not only educational facts but also facts about many other arenas of our lives. Secondly, the contradictory nature of our relationship with the educational system is equally apparent in other areas. Rather than gush on uncritically about the advantages of education, the perspective outlined above allows us to look analytically and dispassionately at the real challenges and opportunities facing our communities today.

ADDRESSING THE ISSUES

This discussion of education leads us to consider how to address some of the crucial issues facing the Latino community within a curriculum for young people. A curriculum that focuses on challenges and opportunities must be a future-directed one. A curriculum, even one for children, cannot be merely an interpretation of what is but must equally be a critical appraisal of what is to come. From the case study emerge some directions for considering other areas in this light.

The first has to do with what should be included in the curriculum. It is important to include as much data as possible concerning Latinos in the United States. Data about past history, education, health issues, employment, the arts, migration and immigration, family ties and responsibilities, holidays and festivals, foods, political action, leadership, and so on should be included. While the curriculum should not simply be a compilation of data, it is nevertheless important to include data so that students may make informed decisions about the real situation of Latinos. Generalities about the present lead only to misinformation and incomplete knowledge. Naturally, this means that if so much data is indeed included, students will be exposed not only to the rosy outlook so prevalent in curricula but also to reality in its more complex and complete manifestations. Issues which may be left untouched in other curricula will have to be considered because the connections between events will have to be made. Few young people in this country are aware, for example, that most of the Southwest United States was originally part of Mexico; somehow, this is glossed over in elementary school and is not part of the curriculum in high school, as so often happens with controversial topics. The only piece of information that remains in most curricula is something about the brave Americans who "defended the Alamo." This incomplete and Anglo-centric treatment of history is inconsistent with a curriculum that considers the challenges and possibilities facing Latinos today, because these challenges and possibilities cannot be understood in a vacuum.

Likewise, the fact that fully two-fifths of the Puerto Rican people reside in the United States cannot be understood simply as a replication of the European immigration experience at the beginning of the twentieth century. The fact that the economy of Puerto Rico is completely under the domination of the United States, as are most other Puerto Rican institutions, is the missing link in understanding this massive migration. Although hardly mentioned in curricula and children's textbooks, this is nevertheless an important piece of data that students must understand if they are to understand the presence of large Puerto Rican communities in cities and towns in

the Northeast and elsewhere in the United States. The issue is not whether students come to the conclusion of the United Nations that Puerto Rico is indeed a colony of the United States,[5] or whether students conclude, as do the United States and the present government of Puerto Rico, that Puerto Rico is in reality a Commonwealth. The point is that, without complete and appropriate information, students can reach no conclusion at all on their own but will be in the position of simply regurgitating what they have been told. This is a perfect example of what Freire calls "banking education,"[6] as opposed to liberating education.

A second direction that emerges from the case study is that Latinos must learn to use their strengths in facing both the challenges and opportunities offered by the United States. Our strengths lie in our close family relationships, in our conception of community, and in what can be called our stubbornness in maintaining culture and language. The last is especially important, for it is unique in United States history and represents perhaps a new understanding of what it means to be an "American." How we have used these strengths can be seen in the case of education. It can be seen, for example, in the kinds of struggles in which the Latino community has been engaged (*community* control, *bilingual* and *multicultural education*). It can also be seen in the family's commitment to and support of education. It should be said, at this point, nevertheless, that the ways in which Latinos support education are often different from the ways in which others do. For this reason, Latinos' support is often misinterpreted. Schools may point to the fact that Hispanic parents do not help their children with homework (many times, of course, they cannot understand it), or that they do not provide the children with educational materials (often they cannot afford them), or with an appropriate place to study (if this means a separate desk, there is often not room for one in overcrowded living quarters). There are other manifestations of support, however, that many times are not seen or understood by schools. Many Latino parents, for example, constantly remind their children to "do your homework if you want to get ahead." They talk with them about going to college and studying for a professional career. They discourage them from "hanging out" or otherwise squandering their time and from taking drugs. Often this is about all parents can do, given the lack of resources and information from which they themselves suffer. This lack of resources should not be interpreted, however, as lack of support; instead, parents' actions should be viewed as providing moral rather than material support.

The meaning which Latinos give to education is also different. When we say in English that someone is educated, we think of degrees, diplomas, and years in school. In Spanish, *educado* has a decidedly different meaning. To be *educado*, while it may imply degrees, diplomas, and years in school, primarily means to be a person of character, to be kind, generous, and polite. Thus, a person who may have had very little formal schooling may nevertheless be considered *educado* in this broader sense. Surely, this is one of the challenges which our society must take upon itself: how to understand this broader definition of education and build upon it within our educational system as a way of including Latino children and parents in a more fundamental way in the educational process.

How we can use our strengths of family, community, language, and culture can be understood as well in other fields. Mural art, for example, is not only community-based but also collective. Its themes are the family and the community and the struggles in which we find ourselves. *Salsa* music is another example. While many of these songs revolve around traditional love themes, many do not. They focus instead on issues as diverse as racism, cultural maintenance, the extended family, patriotism, and celebrations. The very fact that salsa bands are springing up in Puerto Rican communities from Loraine, Ohio, to Holyoke, Massachusetts, reinforces the determination of the Puerto Rican community to maintain roots and traditions. And the fact that in many of these bands *non-Latinos* also play a prominent role is an example of facing the challenge of living in a pluralistic society in the most positive of ways. Even in architecture, our concern for family, community, language, and culture is becoming evident. According to a recent report in *Time* magazine, "Some architects suggest that in an era of spare, high-tech homes that feel like the inside of an engine, many non-Hispanics are drawn to an idealized image of a Latin refuge: an environment that is at once welcoming and protective, that holds a bit of history, a lot of family, and no sharp edges. Of all the United States Latino landscapes, perhaps the most haunting is in New Mexico...."[7] In Villa Victoria, a largely Puerto Rican housing project in Boston's South End, the accent is also Spanish. Not only are the streets named after towns in Puerto Rico, but the very structure of both the buildings and the plazas brings to mind a more tropical setting than central Boston. The buildings themselves are only two or three stories high;

[5] The U.N. Decolonization Committee, 1979.

[6] Paulo Freire. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Seabury Press, 1970. "Banking education" refers to the process of "depositing" knowledge in the minds of students, with no active participation on their part.

[7] *Time* magazine, op. cit., p. 69.

each family has access to a garden; the arches are reminiscent of Spanish architecture. There is a sense of community there, not only because the Puerto Rican community brought about this housing development through years of struggle but also because of the Latino environment that has been created.

Our literature should also be mentioned in this context. Whether it is called "Nuyorican" or "New York Puerto Rican" or simply Puerto Rican literature from New York, the poetry written by Pedro Pietri, Miguel Algarín, Sandra María Esteves, among others, is in some respects fundamentally different from that written on the Island. Often written in English, sometimes with words in Spanish sprinkled throughout, the poetry reverberates with the themes and the beat of northeastern urban streets. Influenced by black American poetry and sounds, by Hispanic culture, and by the urban experience, it is often caustic, creative, and unique. This is certainly evident in the poem "The Book of Genesis According to San Miguelito" by Miguel Piñero, one of the most eloquent voices of the Puerto Rican community:

> Before the beginning
> God created God
> In the beginning
> God created the ghettos and slums
> and God saw this was good.
> So God said,
> "Let there be more ghettos and slums"
> and there were more ghettos and slums.
> But God saw this was plain
> so
> to decorate it
> God created leadbase paint.[8]

While the poetry is unlike traditional Puerto Rican poetry in many ways, it is still very Puerto Rican. The same holds true of poetry written by Mexican Americans and Cuban Americans. Literature is probably one of the areas in which the richest challenges and opportunities for Latinos are being manifested, for a new mode of expression is being developed.

Using our strengths, then, becomes a major challenge for us in the Latino community. Understanding that we do indeed have something to offer and that it can be offered on *our* terms is an important lesson for us. A third direction which emerges from the case study is related: in addition to using our strengths, our communities must work on defining themselves. Self-determination, as we saw in the case of education, means defining education in the way we want it, not necessarily in the way in which others want it for us. Thus, while Latino parents certainly demand appropriate English-as-a-second-language services, they also demand native language classes and programs. The point is an important one, because when a people lose their self-definition, they also lose much of their spirit. The pride and confidence that accompany self-determination become shields against the debilitating and demoralizing effects of oppression. Dependency on drugs, high numbers of teen-age pregnancies, and other social manifestations of a defeated people are easier to combat when a community begins to define itself. It is important, therefore, for the Latino community not to be victims but rather to be active in fighting victimization. This is one of our greatest challenges.

Self-determination also means remaining who we are. While there are certainly stories of Latinos, like European immigrants before them, changing their names from Rivera to Rivers or from Contreras to Counter, we have for the most part continued to use our names, our language, our food, our holidays, and our values. Remaining who we are, however, does not mean that we are exactly like our parents or our families living in Cuba, Columbia, or El Salvador. It means not accommodation but creation, making a new culture out of our old and new realities.

In addressing the challenges and opportunities facing Latinos and non-Latinos, the benefits experienced by Latinos in the United States should be mentioned. Latinos certainly benefit from living in a pluralistic society, which in many cases is far more democratic than that in the countries from which we came. The economic opportunities and educational possibilities are likewise richer than in many of our nations. Yet the reality of oppression is a constant one and is clear in the data reviewed earlier. The indicators for education, employment, health, housing, and political participation are dismal for Latinos in general. An overly optimistic view of our situation limits rather than broadens our understanding. On the other hand, an overly pessimistic view of our situation limits rather than broadens our actions. It is important to walk a fine line between these positions in order to take full advantage of our situation in the United States as well as to struggle to improve it.

Finally, while we appreciate the benefits which United States society is reaping from the presence of Latinos, it is equally important to be cautious about how we are used. We are influencing everything from food to theater and from fashions to literature, and this influence can become a powerful force in helping to make United States culture more pluralistic and affirming. Yet, we must be careful that this influence comes on our terms and not those of others. United States policy in Central

[8] Miguel Piñero. "The Book of Genesis According to San Miguelito," in *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Words and Feelings*, ed. by Miguel Algarín and Miguel Piñero, p. 62.

America is certainly an example of using the Latino community in ways that may not be to our advantage at all. For example, bilingualism is finally being recognized as an asset, as young Latinos are being sent as so-called military advisors to El Salvador or Honduras. Letting ourselves be used in this way is, I believe, diametrically opposed to our own best interests and to the necessity of developing strong parity with Latinos elsewhere on the continent.

In conjunction with this, it is also important not to succumb to the stereotypes of Latinos so common in the media.[9] From fiery dancers to macho hustlers on welfare to knife-wielding gang members, these are the images of Latinos which are most deeply implanted in the American psyche. In rejecting these stereotypes, it is Latinos themselves who must create new images, images of a wide range of realities and images which define who we are in the broadest possible way.

This paper has attempted to present some of the issues which might be addressed in the theme "Challenges and Opportunities" for inclusion in a curriculum focusing on Latinos in the making of the United States. The theme presents us with different vantage points, looking as it does at the challenges and opportunities faced not only by Latinos but by United States society as a whole. What we can learn from one another, what we can teach one another, and how we can use this new knowledge to the advantage of all are probably our greatest challenges in the years ahead.

[9] See for example, the *Bulletin* of the Council on Interracial Books for Children, "The Image of Puerto Ricans in Children's Literature and History Textbooks: A Ten-Year Update," ed. by Sonia Nieto, v. 14, # 1 & 2, 1983.

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Commonalities and Diversity in the Latino Experience: A Conceptual Framework for Exploring Latino Challenges and Opportunities

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Developing a curricular approach to the topic of Latino Challenges and Opportunities is itself both a challenge and an opportunity. It provides an opportunity because all American students need to comprehend the realities and potentialities for Latinos to succeed for themselves, for Hispanics as a whole, and for the United States society. At the same time, it presents a challenge because students also need to develop a valid understanding of the problems facing contemporary Latinos in the United States and the significance of Latinos for the future of this nation.

This theme requires great care and sensitivity in order to balance broad generalizations with specific variations, similarities with differences, unity with diversity, and group attributes with individuality. A curricular approach to the theme of Challenges and Opportunities could be organized in a variety of ways. In fact, as we develop the curriculum and Teacher's Guide, it might be decided that it would be better to integrate this theme within other areas rather than dealing with it as a separate issue in a special section or unit.

Therefore, rather than suggesting an organizational structure for the curriculum and Teacher's Guide, I will propose one conceptual framework that can be used in addressing the issue of Challenges and Opportunities. While this framework does not exhaust the possibilities and themes that can be covered within this rubric, it does provide some guidelines that can be used in selecting and examining curricular topics, pedagogical approaches, course materials, and educational goals. I would like to propose that the theme of Challenges and Opportunities be examined, at least in part, from the perspective of Latinos as members of a variety of societal groups, including the following:

(1) Latinos as Americans (meaning United States Americans);

(2) Latinos as immigrants and in-migrants;

(3) Latinos as part of the United States minority population;

(4) Latinos as a group;

(5) Latinos as members of various national-origin ethnic groups; and

(6) Latinos as members of other constituent United States groupings—for example, as women and men, as members of different generations, as followers of different political parties, as persons of varying educational backgrounds, as people in various occupations, and as residents of various communities, states, and regions.

By using Latinos as members of groups as one conceptual framework for examining the theme of Latino Challenges and Opportunities and by keeping this framework in mind as we develop the entire curriculum and Teacher's Guide, we would achieve one critically important result and avoid one potentially deleterious consequence. On the positive side, we would increase the likelihood that students would gain insight into the commonalities and diversity of the Latino experience, while at the same time recognizing that Latinos are both unique as a group and also part of many other aspects of the American experience. At the same time, we would reduce the possibility of contributing to stereotypes about Latinos, a potential unintended consequence any time that you attempt to provide generalizations about an ethnic group.

Finally, I would like to address one more matter before proceeding with my discussion of Latino Challenges and Opportunities. As the project develops, it might be concluded that some of the ideas and specific elements in this paper would fit better into earlier aspects of the curriculum or guide. Moreover, the shape of this section—assuming that we proceed with the idea of having a special section on Challenges and Opportunities—will be greatly influenced by the manner in which the earlier sections are designed. This section must grow naturally and logically from what is presented earlier; as a result, the application of my suggested framework should be modified on that basis. Having presented these caveats, I

will proceed with my discussion of Latino Challenges and Opportunities by discussing each of the six preceding group categories and assessing the implications of each for the section theme.

LATINOS AS AMERICANS

This is a crucial concept. In order for students to understand the challenges and opportunities facing United States Latinos, they first need to understand that Latinos partake in the general expansion and contraction of challenges and opportunities facing all Americans, obviously with special Hispanic variations. Likewise, they need to see Latinos as integral to the American experience, including the issue of challenges and opportunities.

Unlike Merrill Lynch, Latinos are not a breed apart. They are Americans, although there are some important unique aspects to their experience. This is so obvious that it should be accepted as a given. Unfortunately, my experience in dealing with students, teachers, and other people suggests that many do not really view Latinos as 100 percent Americans, actually viewing them as a breed apart. The failure of our curriculum to eradicate this misconception would be extremely deleterious to the goals of this project. Worse yet, in our justifiable and needed efforts to increase knowledge of the specialness of Latinos, their culture, and their experience, we must be careful not to unintentionally reinforce that "breed apart" misconception.

Basic to the understanding of Latinos as participants in the overall American experience, within the rubric of Challenges and Opportunities, the curriculum should explore at least three basic themes:

(1) the multiple uses of the term *American;*

(2) the need to avoid invalid, even though convenient, dichotomies; and

(3) the participation of Latinos in the challenges and opportunities facing all Americans.

First, terminology. Somewhere—Challenges and Opportunities may or may not be the best section—the curriculum should address the various ways that the word *American* is used. In the United States, it is used to describe people or things of the United States. This has become a source of rightful indignation on the part of Latin Americans, who correctly claim that they, too, are Americans (the western hemisphere is composed of the continents of North and South *America*) and that the United States should not appropriate the word for itself. Students in the United States should become aware of that perfectly legitimate position and become sensitive to Latin American concerns about the use of that term.

On the other hand, this may be a terminology problem without a happy solution. In Spanish, *norteamericano* serves as a convenient label for persons of the United States. However, *North American* and *North America* do not work in English as reasonable substitutes for the United States, since those terms apply to the entire North American continent. Other verbal artifices—for example, *United Statesian* or *United States of American*—are simply too precious and cumbersome. Therefore, after struggling for years with this problem, I have unhappily come to the conclusion that, despite the word's distorting aspects, it is best to use *American* for United States people and things...until someone comes up with a better alternative.

The curriculum needs to address this important question of terminology—the problem of the use of *American*—in order to sensitize students to its complexities. At the same time, the curriculum should be explicit about how and why it uses that term, in order to provide clarity in discussions of "Americans." This is a challenge both for this curriculum and for Latinos in general.

As with terms, so too with dichotomies. If this curriculum is to have a positive impact on Latino opportunities, it also has to grapple with Latino challenges. Too much of the scholarship and curricular material on United States Latinos falls into one of two distortingly dichotomous positions—either that Latinos are just Americans (eliminating their Hispanic distinctiveness) or that they are so different that they emerge as not being fully American. There is no conflict between being Latino and being American (just as there is no conflict between being a member of any other ethnic group and being American). Nor does being American require the elimination of ethnicity, which is obvious. Unfortunately, insensitive discussions that fall into one of the two aforementioned traps tend to reinforce this dichotomy, encouraging students to think in terms of the silly, oft-expressed question: Cuban Americans, are they Cubans or Americans? (Chicanos, are they Mexicans or Americans? etc.)

Assuming that the curriculum deals with these two issues, terminology and dichotomy, either in this or in other sections, the curriculum can then turn to the fuller exploration of challenges and opportunities of Latinos as Americans. In this realm, the curriculum can deal with themes such as the following:

(1) How have Latinos as Americans helped the United States meet its challenges? One example would be the many and extraordinary contributions of Latinos during time of war, such as described in Raul Morin's *Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in World War II and Korea.*

(2) How have Latinos as Americans benefited and suffered from the United States historical process? For

example, how have natural phenomena such as droughts and human-precipitated phenomena such as changes in child care, social security, and public service laws and regulations affected Latinos, whether in a manner just like other Americans or in ways specific to the Latino experience?

(3) What challenges and opportunities will Americans face in the future, such as the changing nature of skills demanded by a high-technology society, and what general and specific impact will this have on the Latino community? For example, what does this mean for the education of all Americans and what in particular does it mean for modifications in the education of Latinos?

In other words, in addressing the issue of Challenges and Opportunities, the curriculum should help students understand that Latinos have grappled and will continue to grapple with the same challenges and opportunities as other Americans but that those challenges and opportunities may have special ramifications for Latinos. Latinos are Americans; they are also Americans of a special sort. They are part of the United States historical process, but they often experience it in a very special way. If students can comprehend this duality (not dichotomy), they will be in a far better position to understand the issue of challenges faced by Latinos and opportunities available to them.

LATINOS AS IMMIGRANTS AND IN-MIGRANTS

Just as Latinos have been a part of the United States experience as Americans, they have also been part of that special aspect of the United States experience—immigration and in-migration. By addressing this theme, the curriculum and guide can help students and teachers understand the larger issue of challenges and opportunities for immigrants, in which Latinos have participated. At the same time, we can clarify those areas where Latinos have faced special challenges and opportunities distinct from other immigrants. Moreover, by highlighting those cases where Latinos have not been immigrants—for example, Mexicans annexed by the United States in 1848 and Puerto Ricans since 1898—we can help students understand that Latinos are not just another immigrant group but rather a complex combination of annexed and immigrant Americans and their descendants. Such issues as the following three can be addressed:

(1) similarities between Latinos and other immigrants in the matter of challenges and opportunities,

(2) special challenges and opportunities encountered by Latino immigrants that distinguish their experience from that of other immigrant groups, and

(3) differences in the categories of Latinos who have come to the United States.

In what respects have Latino immigrants faced the same challenges and encountered the same opportunities as other immigrants? Among the areas that deserve examination are naturalization and the process of acculturation/assimilation.

Like other immigrants, Latino immigrants have faced the choice of whether or not they wish to become United States citizens and the challenge of making citizenship a reality. The curriculum can explore the reasons that Latinos historically have had a lower rate of naturalization than other immigrant groups: the proximity of most Latino immigrants to their homelands; the deep sense of national identity that many Latino immigrants bring with them; the pervasiveness of the dream of returning home to live (a dream that often goes unrealized but that tends to restrict the rate of naturalization); and the difficulties of struggling for survival at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder while at the same time completing the arduous process of learning English and becoming knowledgeable in United States history and government. At the same time, the curriculum can illuminate the extraordinary efforts of hundreds of thousands of individual Latinos to complete the citizenship process. Moreover, at the same time it should demonstrate and emphasize that even Latinos who do not become United States citizens have made enormous contributions to the national well-being. The latter point is critical in order to erase any idea that persons (including Latinos) living in the United States must be citizens in order to be good, contributing Americans.

Along with naturalization, the curriculum should examine the challenges and opportunities of acculturation and assimilation for immigrants. While there are dozens of conflicting definitions of these two terms, my personal predilection is to use the terms in the following way: *acculturation* to mean the process of learning to *adapt* to a society (learning its language, laws, institutions, values, behavior patterns, and other societal elements) and *assimilation* to mean the process of *adopting* the new society while at the same time rejecting or ceasing to maintain your former homeland or ethnic cultures. Either process is perfectly legitimate for immigrants. Students need to understand that there are many ways for immigrants to become and participate as Americans, either by *adapting* to United States culture while at the same time preserving their homeland and ethnic cultures or by *adopting* United States culture without attempting to maintain their homeland and ethnic heritages.

Beyond these two (among many) general immigration themes, the curriculum should address the unique challenges and opportunities that Latino immigrants have encountered and that distinguish their experience from that of other immigrant ethnic groups. The curriculum

should deal with such comparative issues as era of arrival, status of the economy at the time of arrival, the changing nature of job opportunities, diverse educational foundations, the role of racial background, and the impact of the proximity or distance of immigrants in relation to their homelands (making return migration an easier or more difficult option).

Finally, the curriculum should examine the differences in the categories of Latinos who come to the United States (meaning the 50 states) and how these differences have influenced challenges and opportunities. The curriculum should clarify the differences in the nature, challenges, and opportunities of:

(1) documented immigrants;

(2) undocumented immigrants;

(3) in-migrants (Puerto Ricans who by law can travel freely between Puerto Rico and the rest of the United States and, therefore, are not immigrants...a popular misconception);

(4) legally-recognized political refugees (usually from countries specifically designated by the United States government); and

(5) unrecognized political and economic refugees (from nations to which the United States has not assigned the status of political refugee exporter).

Persons in each of these categories face different challenges (including the most basic challenge—getting into the United States) and find different opportunities. Students should develop a clear understanding of these categorical differences. During the last few years, a boom industry has emerged in books and articles on immigration, so scholarly and popular materials abound. In addition, the curriculum should encourage teachers to use the mass media—newspapers, magazines, television, motion pictures, and radio—as they give considerable coverage to the process, challenges, and opportunities of persons entering the United States. Finally, it would be valuable for students to understand the challenges and opportunities created by the basic historical contours and contemporary status of immigration law, including the implications of the Immigration Reform Act of 1986 for undocumented immigrants in the United States.

In short, the major goal of this part of the curriculum will be to help students understand the challenges and opportunities that have confronted Latinos as participants in the general immigration experience and as participants in that experience in varied and special ways.

LATINOS AS PART OF THE UNITED STATES MINORITY POPULATION

For the most part, Latinos are considered a United States minority. I say "for the most part" because categories, even governmental categories, can be confusing. For example, the United States census reports most Latinos as Caucasian, as contrasted with other minority groups. On the other hand, most affirmative action, school desegregation, discrimination, and equal opportunity categorizations include Latinos as a "disadvantaged" group, roughly (although not exactly) synonymous with minority. Therefore, Latino challenges and opportunities need to be addressed as part of the general issue of minority challenges and opportunities, including those respects that the Latino experience differs from that of other United States minorities.

In addressing Latino challenges and opportunities within a minority context, the curriculum should clarify at least four basic points:

(1) the meaning of the word *minority* when used in United States society, particularly by scholars and journalists;

(2) the racial composition of Latinos;

(3) the general challenges and opportunities faced by all United States minority groups, including Latinos; and

(4) the special minority challenges and opportunities faced by Latinos.

First, the meaning of the word *minority*. Words can produce confusion as well as clarity. *Minority* certainly ranks as one of those perplexing terms. When used quantitatively, it means "less than 50 percent." When used sociologically, it refers to those groups who have traditionally been classified as "other than white" (Hispanics, African Americans, American Indians, and Asian Americans). This use of the term operates even in those circumstances where these minorities (or one minority) may actually be a numerical majority. Since both uses of the word abound in textbooks and other curriculum materials, we need to clarify these alternative uses.

Latinos are currently considered to be one of the United States minority groups, sociologically speaking. In many parts of the country—state regions, cities, or neighborhoods—they form a numerical majority. Thus the terminological paradox: the Latino minority being a majority. Our model curriculum should be clear and precise about how and when the word *minority* is used. This will help students grasp how Latinos, even when they form a numerical majority in a particular location, can still face endemic "minority" obstacles, such as racism, de facto segregation, political gerrymandering, unequal opportunity, and housing discrimination.

This brings us to the second major theme—the racial composition of Latinos. Admittedly this is a most difficult and tricky theme, one which sometimes baffles even

some scholars. However, it is also critical, because of the significance of race and racial perceptions in the functioning of United States society.

The curriculum and guide should introduce students to the widespread nature of race mixture in most Latin American nations. The terms *mestizo* and *mulatto* can be introduced and explained to illustrate this mixture. As a result of this extensive racial mixture, most Latin American nations do not employ a rigid system of racial categorization like the one that operates in the United States. As a further result, Latino immigrants and their descendants coming from such nations tend to create problems for the United States racial categorization system. The complex racial background of many (maybe most) Latino immigrants does not permit them to fit neatly into one of the simplistic United States racial categories. (It is instructive that the category of "racially mixed" received consideration for the 1990 United States census).

This great variation of Latino racial and physical makeup, ranging from extremely fair, white-skinned Hispanics to dark-skinned persons of black, Indian, and mixed ancestry, has created a challenge to Latinos in the United States. Americans often act on the basis of racial perception, not multiracial realities. The darker the skin, the more likelihood of encountering racial discrimination, which has become a reality in the lives of many Latinos. In other words, because Latinos are a multiracial people, some Latinos, particularly those of lighter skin, encounter little or no racism. In contrast, many Latinos, particularly those of darker skins, have encountered racial discrimination in the United States.

This leads to the third major point, the overall challenges and opportunities faced by all United States minority groups, including Latinos. Under this rubric, the curriculum should address contemporary and, to the extent they have not been addressed elsewhere, historical challenges and obstacles that minorities have faced. It can also serve as a place to document minority progress in overcoming these generic obstacles.

Challenges could be dealt with as public or private. Public obstacles could include such themes as the following:

(1) laws legalizing or mandating segregation and other forms of discrimination based on race and ethnicity;

(2) educational practices that have hindered minority progress and restricted opportunities for social integration;

(3) unequal application of law and justice, including historical (and sometimes contemporary) practices of law enforcement agencies and the judicial system; and

(4) inequitable treatment of minority public employees, including such issues as hiring, advancement, and inordinate wartime casualty figures, particularly in Vietnam.

In the private sector, the discussion of obstacles could include the following:

(1) housing discrimination practices (when not legally supported or mandated);

(2) hiring discrimination and obstacles to achieving equity within private-sector employment;

(3) media negative stereotyping; and

(4) discrimination in such areas as service in restaurants, seating in theaters, and obtaining bank loans (redlining).

I recognize the problem and need for sensitivity in addressing these issues, but I also see the importance of broaching these themes. The curriculum should not become a sounding board for Latino grievances. Neither, however, should it become a romanticized portrait of unencumbered Hispanic progress. Rather, it should help all students understand the special obstacles that minorities, including Latinos, have faced in seeking equality and progress within the United States.

Moreover, it should describe steps taken to remove these obstacles and overcome these challenges. These include positive and constructive actions invoked by both majority Americans (used sociologically) and minority Americans. This would be an ideal opportunity to provide illustrations of Latino communities and individuals who have taken the lead in challenging these inequities, overcoming these obstacles, and helping to bring about constructive societal reform. The emphasis here would be on Latinos not as role models for personal achievement, but as role models and social actors who helped bring about changes that have made the United States a better place for all.

Throughout the discussion of minority challenges and opportunities, realism should be combined with optimism. In the realm of optimism, the goal would be to demonstrate for students the possibility of progress, as illustrated by the achievement of changes in the search for societal equity. In the realm of realism, the goal would be to demonstrate that such progress demands sincere and continuous efforts by all and that, despite considerable progress in recent decades, difficult challenges remain for minorities as a whole.

But beyond minorities as a whole, there are special minority challenges and opportunities faced by Latinos. The emphasis here would be on those minority issues that have been of particular importance to Latinos. In other words, while in some respects the minority experi-

ence has been a generic one, in other respects certain challenges have been particularly important, in some cases unique, for each minority group.

African Americans faced the unique challenge of slavery. Native Americans (American Indians) faced the unique challenge of the creation of the reservation system. Asian Americans have faced such unique challenges as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the World War II internment of Japanese Americans. Likewise, Latinos have faced challenges of special importance to them. Language and religion serve as examples, each of which provides a basis for the examination of both challenge and opportunity.

Latinos have long faced a language challenge. Those challenges have ranged from rules forbidding the speaking of Spanish in the workplace and in schools (even on playgrounds) to the use of discriminatory I.Q. tests; from the lack of bilingual personnel in public services to the denial of equal educational opportunity by the submersion of Spanish-speaking Latino students in "sink-or-swim" classes in which only English is spoken. On the positive side, the curriculum could demonstrate steps that have been taken to overcome these language obstacles—bilingual education, the employment of bilingual personnel in both the public and private sectors, more realistic workplace and school language-use rules and practices, and the development of Spanish-language media and advertising.

This also might be a good place to address the nature of bilingual education (some "educated" people still believe that bilingual education means education in a foreign language only, without any effort to help students learn English). It also might be the place to examine the difference between an unofficial national language (which the United States has) and an official national language (which is now being debated), as well as the social ramifications of the two alternatives (on the other hand the Advisory Board might decide that this issue is too complex and controversial for high school students).

Another issue that could be addressed is that of religion. Since the coming of Catholicism (and in a broader sense, Christianity) to the Western Hemisphere, religious tensions have developed, leading to a variety of cross-cultural adaptations. Indians have modified Catholic teachings and practices, developing their own unique blends of Catholicism, while imported African slaves created syncretic religious practices, blending Catholicism and their own African religions. In turn, these religious variants have become part of the United States historical process, sometimes coming into conflict with mainstream United States religious traditions.

In the post-1848, newly-annexed, heavily-Catholic United States Southwest (formerly northern Mexico), the eastern United States Catholic Church went to great lengths to "de-Mexicanize" southwestern Catholic practices (for example, through the Baltimore Reforms of the 1850s and the Anglicization of the southwestern priesthood). One illustration of this clash that could be used in the curriculum is the career of Father Lamy of New Mexico (whose life was novelized as *Death Comes to the Archbishop*), with an emphasis on his clashes with the old Mexican clergy of that newly-annexed territory.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, various Protestant religions have made special efforts to convert annexed and immigrant Mexicans, as well as other Latino immigrants. This has added a new dimension to the religious challenge and opened up new opportunities for Latinos. The sometimes-tempestuous interaction between mainstream United States religions and Latino religious practices has continued to this day. One current example is reflected by the rising media interest in the subject of *santería*, unfortunately a subject usually treated with sensationalism (for example, in the 1987 motion picture *The Believers*).

The interaction between United States Latinos and mainstream American religions has often taken the form of challenges, sometimes even with attempts to erode Latino culture. In other respects this interaction reflects growing opportunities for United States Latinos. In particular, during the past two decades, American religions have made greater efforts to recruit and promote Latinos within their ministries. In addition, some religions have made adaptations to Latino cultures, ranging from the conducting of services in Spanish and the printing of Spanish-language religious materials to modifications in religious ceremonies, such as the spread of the mariachi mass. Moreover, while Latinos have historically viewed many religions as obstacles to social progress, church leaders have more recently taken the initiative in helping Latinos in their struggle against societal inequities. For example, ministries of various denominations have been active in the United Farm Workers movement.

In short, even while participating in the generic minority experience, Latinos have faced special challenges and have grasped special opportunities in such areas as language and religion. The curriculum can help students understand these general and special relationships. The curriculum should address obstacles without either belaboring or glossing over them, discuss achievements without hypertrophying or minimizing them, and examine continuing challenges and opportunities with a blend of realism and optimism.

LATINOS AS A GROUP

While dealing with Latinos as Americans, as part of the immigrant experience, and as members of American

minority life, the curriculum must also address the issue of Latinos as a special, single ethnic group. What common elements make Latinos a group? What challenges and opportunities do Latinos face because they are a group? At least four themes seem obvious:

(1) language,
(2) culture,
(3) experience, and
(4) efforts to forge Latino unity.

Latinos (with the exception of Brazilians) are tied together by a single language of heritage (although not all United States Latinos speak Spanish, even monolingual English-speaking Latinos recognize its symbolic importance). Hispanics, also including people of direct Spanish ancestry, possess a Spanish-speaking link with Portugal and Brazil, enjoying Portuguese as their linguistic commonality. These two linguistic group links—Spanish and Portuguese—have often proven to be a challenge, as Hispanics grapple with laws, policies, and practices that sometimes penalize them for the nature of their language usage. On the other hand, the strong language base that Latinos enjoy provides them with special opportunities for the future.

Under President Jimmy Carter, the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies issued a highly critical report, *Strength through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability*. It denounced United States monolingualism and described Americans' lack of foreign language facility and cross-cultural knowledge as an educational disgrace and a national peril. The United States government, American business, and individual Americans have become internationally renowned for their linguistic and cultural bloopers. Sometimes merely amusing, at other times these bloopers have caused significant government, business, and personal problems.

With their special linguistic heritage, United States Hispanics have the opportunity to transform their language knowledge (formerly viewed as a handicap) into an asset. Increasingly, careers exist in which a knowledge of Spanish and/or Portuguese is essential or at least beneficial. But the issue goes beyond the opportunity for individuals to enhance their own lives and careers through bilingualism. Because so many of them possess these special language gifts, Hispanics can and have made special contributions to the United States. These contributions include: government service, participation in private businesses engaged in cross-cultural activities, and through individual actions. In particular, the language gift situates Hispanics as natural contributors to the building of bridges between the United States, Latin America, and the Iberian Peninsula.

The curriculum should identify Latinos' knowledge of Spanish and/or Portuguese as a gift. The knowledge of other languages should be treated as an individual gift to be nurtured, a group gift to be enhanced, and a societal asset to be treasured. While the curriculum should stress the importance of learning English, it should also illuminate the individual, group, and national value of maintaining and strengthening ethnic languages, often home languages.

Like language, culture creates a binding group force that provides opportunities for Latinos. However, particularly in the presentation of this theme, the curriculum needs to be careful to avoid overgeneralization and stereotyping. When discussing culture—as a Latino characteristic, as a Latino challenge, or as an avenue for Latino opportunity—the curriculum must be certain not to suggest that all Latinos or, for that matter, that all national-origin Latino groups are alike.

What characteristics can we reasonably conclude are Latino—that is, applicable in a general sense to all national-origin Latino groups? This does not refer to characteristics of *each and every* Latino. This means characteristics of *most* Latinos, regardless of whether they are Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Colombian Americans, or Nicaraguan Americans.

With the exception of Brazilians, they *tend* to speak Spanish (the majority also speak English). They *tend* to be Catholic and *tend* to have powerful attachments to *la familia*. They *tend* to have a strong sense of *comunidad*. They *tend* to possess a constellation of Hispanic values, such as *compadrazgo, personalismo, dignidad*, and *orgullo* (I recommend that the curriculum and Teacher's Guide use these terms in Spanish, with explanations in English, because translating them into English infuses them with inappropriate United States cultural connotations that could lead to distortions and stereotyping). Please note that I have used the word *tend* in each statement. I do so—and the curriculum should use that or similar wording in discussions of Latino culture—in order to reduce the possibility that students will develop stereotypes of all Latinos.

Besides helping to promote a better understanding of Latino culture, the curriculum should illuminate the ways in which the existence of Latino culture has contributed to challenges and opportunities for Latinos trying to function within mainstream United States culture. For example, in what respects have Latinos faced special classroom and workplace problems with teachers, supervisors, and other personnel who may misinterpret their actions because of lack of cultural understanding? Conversely, what aspects of Latino culture should all students learn in order to be able to deal more sensitively and equitably with Latinos, thereby increasing their opportunities?

Third is the issue of experience. As in dealing with culture, the curriculum must treat experience delicately. The same question confronts us. In what respects can we validly talk about a single Latino experience? To a great extent, immigration provides a common thread within the Latino experience (although Puerto Ricans are not immigrants and some Mexican Americans entered the United States through annexation). However, it is possible that the strongest unifying link among Latinos is their experience in dealing with mainstream America, both individuals and institutions. While Latinos have entered the United States with different experiential backgrounds, they have tended to encounter certain common linguistic, cultural, educational, political, social, and economic challenges. The curriculum can help students obtain a better grasp of these general contours of the Latino experience.

Finally there is the issue of Latino unity. Above and beyond the nature of Latino linguistic, cultural, and experiential commonality and diversity stands the challenge for Latinos to create some sort of functional group unity. This involves the creation of Hispanic mutual identity, the development of pan-Latino organizations, and the employment of this unity for Latino progress.

Demographic changes have increased the importance and potential of Latino unity. According to the United States census, the Hispanic population rose by 61 percent during the 1970s, compared with the overall national growth of 11.4 percent (we should have the growth figures for the 1980s, based on a comparison of the 1980 and 1990 census, prior to the completion of our curriculum project). As Latinos expand faster than the rest of United States society both in population size and in population percentage, the possibility of Latinos making effective use of this growth creates an enormous challenge as well as exciting possibilities.

In particular, during the past two decades, Latinos of different national origins have been striving to strengthen pan-Latino mutual identity and to create a sense of shared destinies. The Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project, which involves Latinos, Latin Americans, and Iberians of various backgrounds, as well as non-Latinos, suggests both a recognition of the importance of mutual identity and the implementation of steps to strengthen it. Moreover, as part of the larger multicultural education movement, the project will contribute to the broader goal of multiethnic understanding.

The growth of pan-Latino organizations serves as a barometer for this developing Latino identity. Organizations such as the National Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Hispanic Nurses, the Hispanic National Bar Association, and the National Council of La Raza attempt to foster unity among Latinos of different backgrounds. At the same time, organizations such as the National Association for Bilingual Education epitomize the attempt to link pan-Latino actions with efforts of Americans of other backgrounds in the search for social progress.

The growth of Latino media—sometimes in Spanish, sometimes in English, sometimes bilingually—further suggests the opportunities for increasing Latino unity for common goals. Not only do these media offer economic and career opportunities for Latinos, but they also provide a vehicle for strengthening mutual identity. In some cases, they also help to reinforce Spanish language usage.

Recent Latino successes in the political arena provide further evidence of increasing Latino sophistication as a result of demographic growth. Particularly heartening has been the election of Latinos in areas where Latinos do not form a majority—for example, Governor Robert Martinez of Florida and Mayor Federico Peña of Denver. In such cases Latino voters provided a base of support, but such Latino candidates have also demonstrated the ability to reach out to voters of other backgrounds. Politics provides an excellent example of overcoming challenges and taking advantage of opportunities.

Language, culture, experience, and Latino unity, then, can provide a four-element base for the examination of the challenges and opportunities facing Latinos. Care must be taken not to overgeneralize, which could contribute to stereotyping. However, through a careful selection of the core elements of Latinismo, the curriculum can clarify the societal significance of Latinos as Latinos.

LATINOS AS MEMBERS OF VARIOUS NATIONAL-ORIGIN ETHNIC GROUPS

The curricular presentation of Latinos as Latinos will help to clarify pan-Hispanic commonalities. A discussion of Latinos as members of different national-origin ethnic groups will help students gain insight into the issue of Hispanic diversity. What makes Cuban Americans different from Mexican Americans from Puerto Ricans, and from Guatemalan Americans? What differences exist in the challenges and opportunities that they face?

At least four questions should be addressed in order to illuminate this theme:

(1) How have the histories of the different heritage nations of United States Latinos varied (obviously Puerto Rico is not a nation, but for purposes of verbal simplicity I am including Puerto Ricans within the rubric of a national-origin Latino group)?

(2) How have the circumstances (time, reason for leaving, and situation encountered here) differed in their processes of entering the United States and

how have these circumstances affected their challenges and opportunities?

(3) What differing cultural elements did they bring with them, in what respects have their cultures been modified in the United States, and what cultural contributions have they made to the United States?

(4) What specific issues have special significance for these different national-origin Latino groups?

The first question—the differing historical experiences—may be dealt with in other parts of the curriculum. If so, fine. If not, this might be the place for a brief introduction to the differences between the various Latin American nations. This should not be a detailed recitation of historical facts or an extensive analysis of historical events. Rather it should emphasize those aspects of their historical experiences that have direct implications for their later experience in the United States.

The second question—the circumstances of their entry into the United States—is critical for understanding differing challenges and opportunities. Immigrants from certain Latin American nations have been heavily composed of well-educated professionals seeking enhanced career opportunities. Others have been poor people seeking to escape poverty and climb the economic ladder. Still others have been political refugees, fleeing revolution, turbulence, or various forms of oppression. Moreover, they have arrived at different times in United States history, with each era offering a different blend of challenges and opportunities that the curriculum could highlight.

The third question—that of cultures—could provide one of the richest elements in the curriculum. While students study the generic elements of United States Latino culture, they should also be introduced to the special elements of each individual culture—for example, music, art, food, architecture, law, social patterns, and literary expression. A July 1988 *TIME* cover story on Hispanics dealt cursorily with some of these themes. Our curriculum should go into greater depth so that students not only comprehend that Latinos are not all alike, but also learn that each national-origin group has a rich culture of its own. Moreover, the curriculum can demonstrate how these groups have made different contributions to the American scene—enriching the American cuisine, providing new dimensions in theater, introducing new forms of literary and artistic expression, contributing to the legal structure (for example, in the area of water rights and community property), and suggesting different styles of architecture and community planning.

Moreover, United States Latinos form a bridge for continuously invigorating the American scene with new cultural elements from Latin America. Useful here is the concept of transnational linkages between national-origin Latino groups and their home cultures. The proximity of Latin America makes it easier for most United States Latinos to revisit and to receive visitors from their homelands; facilitates the flow of radio programs, television shows, and periodicals into the United States; and enhances cultural and linguistic reinforcement and enrichment for United States Latinos. In turn, Hispanics provide a bridge for introducing these elements into the United States and enriching the United States environment. In other words, not only does the physical proximity of the vast majority of United States Latinos to their foreign cultural homelands help to provide the opportunity for continuous invigoration of their cultures, but it also provides them with the opportunity to import elements of those cultures to invigorate the American scene.

Finally, the curriculum should illuminate the special concerns of each individual Latino group—what each group views as its special challenges and opportunities. Mexican Americans have a special concern about the United States-Mexican border and the subject of undocumented immigration, since most Latino undocumented immigrants come from Mexico. Puerto Ricans have a special concern about the nature of the legal relationship between Puerto Rico and The States, including the ongoing debate over the future of Puerto Rico (statehood, independence, or continuing commonwealth status). Cuban Americans have a special concern with the political situation in Cuba, including the very personalized issue of Fidel Castro. El Salvadoran immigrants and refugees have a special concern with the ongoing turmoil in their homeland, including death squads and the civil war. Argentine and Uruguayan immigrants, often highly-trained professionals, are part of a critical "brain drain" from their home countries. In other words, each national-origin Latino group has very special and unique concerns, which, in turn lead to differing challenges and opportunities.

Differences based on homelands, combined with similarities based on being Latino, help to shape the nature of the experiences, challenges, and opportunities for United States Hispanics. By clarifying these similarities and examining these differences, the curriculum can help students simultaneously grasp the essence of being Latino without falling into stereotyping.

LATINOS AS MEMBERS OF OTHER AMERICAN GROUPS

Some of the great diversity among United States Latinos—including the challenges they face and the opportunities they have—reflect their differing national origins. However, many other factors contribute to that diversity. Latinos belong to groups on the basis of

residency—they live in Puerto Rico and all 50 states, in various regions of those states, and in different types of communities, a fact that affects challenges and opportunities. The experience of Latinos is influenced simply by the fact of belonging to one of the two gender groups, men or women. Latinos belong to different age groups, partaking in the challenges, and opportunities, of each generational cohort. Latinos have different political identifications, some being Democrats and some Republicans, but they are often concerned with political issues and campaigns in their own home countries. Latinos belong to different groups on the basis of their educational backgrounds, creating obstacles for some and opportunities for others. Latinos belong to diverse occupational groups, some of which afford better opportunities than others. Latinos have different socioeconomic characteristics, which present challenges and often limit opportunities. The list could go on and on.

In developing the curriculum, choices will need to be made among the various types and illustrations of Latino diversity. However, whatever the choices, the curriculum needs to make critical points that Latino challenges and opportunities are the result not merely of being Latino nor of being of a particular Latin American origin. The result is a great diversity among Latinos, a diversity reflecting the many constituent American groups to which Hispanics belong.

The curriculum could examine any number of themes related to the issue of challenges and opportunities for Latinos based on diversity. It could look at regional issues, comparing the challenges and opportunities of Puerto Ricans in large eastern urban areas, of Hispanos in small northern New Mexico villages, of Cuban Americans and Colombian Americans in Florida, of Mexican Americans in the agricultural migrant stream and southwestern cities, and of the diverse Latino groups in such midwestern cities as Chicago. It could look at gender issues, including the intersection of culture and gender in creating special challenges and opportunities. It could look at the impact of education in expanding or contracting opportunities.

In short, this theme could round out the development of the profile of Latino challenges and opportunities. Possibly by employing a series of profiles of Latinos of varying backgrounds—not just the traditional famous Latinos—the curriculum could expose students to the reality of Latino diversity.

CONCLUSION

Challenges and opportunities. An amorphous, imprecise, but critical theme. Certainly a theme that the curriculum should address if students are to gain an understanding of Latinos in the past, in the present, and certainly in the future.

The six frameworks that I have suggested provide one basis for addressing this theme. By integrating these six frameworks throughout the curriculum and by using them to examine the similarities and differences of Latinos, as well as their similarities and differences with other Americans and groups of Americans, the curriculum can help students gain a valid grasp of the many challenges and variety of opportunities confronting Latinos.

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Influences of the New World in the Historical Development of the Iberian Peninsula in the Modern Age

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INTRODUCTION

The arrival of Columbus on the American shores meant the opening of a great frontier for the subjects of the Kingdom of Castile, the most important political entity of the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century.

A long process of occupation and control of the immense American territory was then initiated by the Europeans. The cultural impact between invaders and invaded, countries of different civilizations and lifestyles, was inevitable. Through the creation of what is considered to be the first modern colonial empire, the Spaniards decisively contributed to the extended phenomenon of the Europeanization of America.

The interaction and mutual influence between the metropolis and frontier have configured the social evolutions of the countries that inhabit what has been called "the labyrinth of Hispanity." If the histories of Europe and America are to be meaningful, they have to be considered, from 1492 on, as elements of a unit in which the study of reciprocal connection, relations, and influences will result in clarifying our understanding in important ways.

In effect, even though scarcely systematized, there is extensive historiographic tradition interested in making evident the influence that America has had in the society, economy, and culture of the Iberian Peninsula in particular and of Europe in general. In analyzing the influence of the American frontier in the society of the Iberian Peninsula, a double course should be followed: measure and consider the supposed economic challenge for its productive system and evaluate America's significance for the development of Hispanic science.

THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN WEALTH ON THE ECONOMY OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The Flux of Precious Metals

The first half of the sixteenth century was the first great era of European expansion. It was the period of conquest and colonization and of the first flux of precious metal that encouraged investment in the Iberian Peninsula. It was the era in which the American frontier began to move inland.

The first product to create an economic bond between the American countries and the Iberian Peninsula was gold. Until 1517, the establishments and activities of the Castilians in the Caribbean were those typical of a colony that specialized in the production of gold for exploitation.

The economic results of the exploitation of gold are not exactly known, but it is estimated that from 1494 to 1520 not less than 30,000 kilograms of gold arrived in Seville from the Caribbean. This quantity was much larger than the amount produced by Europe during all these years, and it was also greater than all the gold collected by the Portuguese in Africa in the early Middle Ages.

The deposits of alluvial gold from the Antilles were completely drained by the years 1520 to 1528. The loss of lives and the suffering in the mining of gold cannot be quantified, but supposedly mining contributed to the extinction of the Indians in the major Antilles and the Bahamas 40 years after the arrival of the Europeans. After that, a great majority of the Spaniards moved back to the continent after they had become acclimated to the tropics. The conquest received a new impulse. After the domination of the principal cultures of interior America, the most important of which were the Aztecs in Central America and the Incas in the Andes, the invaders initiated the control of the continental space. In the next decades, they founded several cities, to which they brought Castilian political habits and social customs. Until 1550, those colonial cities tried hard to be self-sufficient in order to survive. These colonial cities had a surplus, usually in gold, that permitted them to import from Castile some essential goods and a modest volume of luxury items. In this way, the first transatlantic business took place. The metropolis experimented, and afterwards came the first period of economic prosperity. Castile increased its agricultural and industrial production for

export to the New World; the areas that gained the most were the vineyards and olive groves in Andalucía, the manufacturing cities of the central part of Castile, and the shipyard and iron mines of Vizcaya. Such prosperity was maintained in the boundaries of the Kingdom until the middle of the sixteenth century.

Rather suddenly, a drastic change took place in the economic and commercial relations between the metropolis and its colonies. In the decade of the 1560s, the systematic exploitation of new mineral resources in the Indies was initiated. Very rich silver mines were discovered in the remote areas of Peru (Potosí, 1545) and the New World (Zacatecas, 1546). From 1541 to 1546, important deposits of gold rocks were discovered in Nueva Granada. The Iberian Peninsula in particular and Europe in general, when both were in the fullest development of their commercial capitalism, showed an insatiable need for precious metals to be put into circulation in the form of coins. That thirst for precious metals explains the fast development and the enormous volume of investment and production in the silver industry in the New World. On the other hand, when the resources of the three largest mineral sources were exploited, the demand for European products by the colonies intensified. A rapid increase occurred in the extraction of silver to pay for those products, and as a result, commercial trade with Seville was increased.

To give an idea of the comparative value of the global production, it could be said that in the sixteenth century the treasures exported from the Indies were 80 percent silver, nearly 19 percent gold, and a little over 1 percent pearls. For many years, these three articles constituted 95 percent of the overall exports, with which the Castilian colonies had a high degree of economic specialization.

The precious metals exported to Castile followed long and costly routes. Since 1543, the crossing of the Atlantic had been made by convoys of ships with military escort, in part for defense and also because of the lack of good captains. The convoy system was altered in 1564 to avoid the hurricanes, to find the most favorable winds, and to facilitate the expedition of the Spanish fleet. Every year a convoy was dispatched for South America (Tierra Firme) and another for Mexico (fleet of Nueva España), accounting for 85 percent of the ships and 90 percent of the tonnage circulating between Castile and its colonies. The cost of those convoys was too high. For example, around 1570, nearly half of the precious metals that arrived every year from the Indies was used to finance the freights of the next transatlantic trip.

Until 1580, all the precious metals entered Europe through Seville; smuggling took place under the pretext of obligatory docking in Lisbon or other harbors. About three percent of the total was smuggled—an amount that has to be added to the depreciations caused by foreign pirates and corsairs. Such precious metals were distributed in Castile and Europe. Perhaps one-fifth of the American treasures remained in Andalucía, to the benefit of Seville and to the advantage of some other harbors such as Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Cadiz in the agricultural areas of the valley of the Guadalquivir, including Málaga. The rest of the treasures went to the central and northern sections of Castile—Toledo, Segovia, and other cities—as payment for their weavings and arms, until their manufacturing business was ruined because of the foreign competition. The treasures went also to the Basques as payment for ships, naval goods, and iron products. But mainly the treasures went to Madrid, because the court was installed there, and to the commercial zone of Valladolid, the city that was known for its work in gold and silver and its remarkable patriciate consisting of judges, functionaries, nobles, and business persons. Madrid received the treasures assigned to the King, who sent them to half of Europe as payments for loans and interest of bankers. In addition, the King had to pay for his enoumous military expenses and the political diplomats of Hapsburg, as well as for the defense of Catholicism against Protestantism and Islam. The treasures given to business persons, once coined, were sent to some other financial center, usually Medina del Campo, where the coins were negotiated in the fairs. From here they were sent at once to the industrial zones of Europe. Licenses for the exportation of the coinage, initially forbidden, were conceded to the merchants in 1560 to compensate for a deteriorated balance of payments. Smuggling started to acquire importance in 1590 and became worse in 1620. It took place in all the seaports of the silver routes. For example, a contemporary estimate indicates that 25 percent of the silver was shipped illegally from El Callao in 1651; then Puerto de Santa María and other small cities in the harbor of Cadiz progressed, partly as a result of the professional smugglers who unloaded the silver or carried the silver to foreign ships in quantities estimated to be from 10 to 30 percent of all the silver shipped from America.

All these causes contributed to the distribution through the continent of the precious metals from the Indies: the foreign monetary expenses in arms, embassies, and subsidies to the Hapsburg allies; an unfavorable commercial balance; smuggling; and the legal exportation of metals with special licenses.

The volume of traffic of precious metals was abundant. Today, it is impossible to determine the volume of illegal traffic. It is necessary to look at the figures for the legal traffic in order to have an idea of the illegal volume. From 1531 to 1660, at least 155,000 kilos of American gold and 16,985,000 kilos of registered silver legally

arrived in Seville. Of the silver, 15 percent arrived in 1531-1580, 67 percent in 1581-1630, and 17 percent in 1631-1660. If the amount smuggled is added, it is possible that during the sixteenth century alone Europe received a total of 18,300,000 kilos of silver from America. It has been mentioned that in the seventeenth century the smuggling increased. It could be said that the imports from America increased, until 1660, to 20 percent in gold and 30 percent in silver.

This abundance of silver, which moved through Castile and caused inflation and higher prices, arrived in other European countries. In approximately 1550, Western Europe became the actual metropolis of the American colonies. Castile served only as port of entry and center of distribution of the colonial treasures. At first, Castile had substantial benefits, but in 1550, these benefits started to decline.

The American treasures also transformed the economic relations between Europe and the rest of the Old World. As silver became scarce and more expensive in the Far East than in Europe, the rich people and the business persons could acquire oriental products on better terms and in larger quantities if they paid with American silver. The quantity of American silver used in these commercial transactions was so great that in the seventeenth century some Asiatic merchants were saturated with silver. In this way, America made possible the rapid growth of world trade and determined its volume. The European intermediaries—merchants, bankers, naval builders, and other industries—were the primary beneficiaries in this traffic. Another part of the precious metals remained in Europe for noneconomic uses (making possible the splendor of Baroque art in sculpture, gold and silver works, and dresses), or for minting, which increased the monetary circulation that considerably influenced European economic development.

The abundance of silver and gold created a continued inflation never seen before and which expanded from Castile to other countries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, prices were between four and five times higher than at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This revolution in prices affected enormously the economies of Castile and Europe. This revolution in Europe greatly increased the profits of merchants and industries—costs and salaries increased also, but more slowly—thus stimulating industrial development and the formation of capital. For these reasons, silver and gold are considered to be the principal causes of the development of European capitalism.

Nevertheless, the Castilian economy was severely affected by the price revolution that originated with the arrival of the precious metals from America. By the 1550s, some Castilian writers, such as Martin Azpilicueta, described clearly the elevated cost of life in Spain resulting from the abundance of American silver. By this time, at the end of the reign of Charles V, the economic situation in Spain had worsened. The Castilian prices were increasing more rapidly than in other countries, with the subsequent loss of the ability to compete in the various markets. As they had to import more products than they exported, the commercial balance of Castile with other countries of Europe was increasingly unfavorable. The deficit had to be covered with American silver.

The gradual change of economic circumstances was accompanied by a growing delusion with respect to the American wealth. This delusion was revealed in the continuous complaints made by the Courts of Castile about the rising prices and in the growing number of commentaries about the dangerous effects of that wealth. Then Castile was viewed as trying to convert itself into the European Indies, and this major Castilian accomplishment was precisely the cause of its ruin.

As previously explained, multiple causes led to this situation. The overflow of precious metals to Spain made the prices rise to a higher level than in the other European countries. An excessive deviation of the domestic products to the American markets caused a scarcity of these goods and high prices at home. Also, the wealth was administered poorly. It was not correctly invested because of moral and psychological reasons as Garcilaso de la Vega recognized in 1612.

Those who looked at the wealth with different eyes from the commoners said that the treasures that Peru sent to the Old World and scattered through it created more harm than good; they said that wealth is the cause of vices rather than virtues, for those who are wealthy are inclined to arrogance, ambition, gluttony, and lust. They concluded that the New World riches did not increase those things that are necessary for human life, such as food and clothes. Instead, the riches effeminated men in their understanding and in the body—in its dress, habits, and customs. It was further concluded that people lived happier lives with what they had before the time of wealth.

After the importation of precious metals reached its peak between 1581 and 1630, significant decreases began in the period from 1697 to 1719. Different factors explain this decline. The colonial market for European goods had reached its limits of expansion at the beginning of the seventeenth century. After approximately 1622, when the American demand was reduced, less silver arrived in Seville. The Atlantic business of this city declined permanently, both in value and volume. All Europe was economically depressed by the middle of the seventeenth century. This decrease in the Atlantic commerce helped

bring about the fiscal-political changes in the Spanish Kingdom. When the Spanish kings were unable to pay their armies and maintain their prodigious military aid to help the Counter Reformation, they too frequently confiscated the silver shipments destined for particular persons in Seville. As a result of these numerous kidnappings, insecurity increased in the trade markets of Seville, and a different environment ensued among the European businessmen who shipped their merchandise there and also among the agents in the Indies who sent the silver to Europe. The reciprocal correspondence established between the Iberian Peninsula in particular and Europe in general, on one hand, and with America, on the other hand, was modified during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Neither of them needed from each other what they had offered in the past. The Indies reduced their demand for European goods and Europe reduced its demand for American silver.

The Consumption of Tropical Products

It has to be pointed out that the development of the transatlantic commerce had nothing to do with the immense and diverse possibilities of production in the New World but rather had to do with the cost and technology of transportation. Transportation was the essential factor in the limitation and specialization of the transoceanic traffic. Ninety-five percent of the goods exported by the Spanish American countries consisted of precious metals, because precious metals were the only colonial merchandise that could support the expenses of a transportation system that for its enormous distance was near the limits of the technological and economic possibilities of the sixteenth century.

In the first phase of the transatlantic commerce, precious metals constituted 95 percent of all the exportations. Afterward, between 1584 and 1653, the average was 85 percent, and by the middle of the seventeenth century, it was only 78 percent. In a correlative way, the merchandise increased from five percent to 15 percent and then to 22 percent, respectively.

The exportations of the Castilian colonies began to diversify as a result of considerable differences in the required tonnage. In the trips to America, ships carried voluminous goods such as wine and olive oil, and on the return trip to Castile, they had brought silver and gold, which occupied little space. This arrangement was beneficial for the majority of ships returning to Europe, for they returned loaded with many kinds of products. The fact that there was adequate space on returning ships explains why moderate quantities of medicinal plants and other products were sent to Europe, in particular to the Iberian Peninsula. Among those products received there were dyes, sugar, furs, tobacco, and cocao. These products constituted 94 percent of the total exportations during the eighteenth century, excluding precious metals.

Tobacco was initially prescribed by the Indian medicine men and later by European doctors for dozens of diseases, among which was asthma. Thus, the belief that tobacco had curative powers resulted in the appearance of the first European smoker—the patient addicted to his drug-medicine. By 1580, it was widely known how to dry and cure or preserve tobacco to prevent it from spoiling before it reached its destiny. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when containers were designed that could neutralize the tobacco's tendency to absorb humidity and all kinds of odors in the ships, this product began to acquire importance in international trade. From 1717 to 1738, tobacco made up 40 percent of all the nonmetallic merchandise (leather excluded) exported to Cadiz by the Spanish colonies. Cacao, which made up nearly 30 percent, followed.

Dyes were also in strong demand by the Castilian and European textile industries. Cochineal, an insect that when dried and ground produced a red dye that is excellent for silk material, was exported from Mexico. Indigo blue was also exported from the New World, but mainly from Central America, where it was of strong economic importance.

Brazilian wood was grown in areas of the tropical forest, and there were four varieties good for tints. Castilians found it in Jamaica, Española, and near the shores of Central America and Mexico, but the rapid depopulation of the Antilles and the high costs of transportation prevented the area from being overly exploited. For the Brazilian wood to be productive in navigation days, it had to grow on the coasts and at a minimum distance from Europe—conditions that were possible only in an area of the Brazilian littoral.

The first tropical product that was important in transatlantic traffic—sugar cane—was not American. This product was brought to the New World by the Europeans; it was originally from Asia and was taken to the Mediterranean by the Mussulmen, by the Europeans to the Atlantic archipelagoes, and by the Castilians to the Caribbean in 1510.

Sugar, in medieval Europe, was a rare and expensive medicine; only at the end of the fifteenth century was it used as food in Portugal, mainly as an ingredient in confections, as a result of its production in the Atlantic archipelagoes of the Azores and Madeira.

The transformation of sugar-medicine into sugar-food continued in the American colonies of Castile, mostly in the New World, where sugar cane plantations gave sugar a very important role in the common eating habits of the European people. Nevertheless, only Puerto Rico, La

Española, and some other sugar cane plantations near Veracruz exported large quantities of sugar to Europe, while the domestic consumption grew considerably in the Castilian colonies. Because of the distance from the Old World, only the Spanish Antilles could have developed large-scale exportation of sugar, but the Spanish Antilles lacked the necessary work force and money for investment: the native work force was almost extinguished, slaves were expensive, and the wealth was tied up with silver mining in the continent. Also, the Old World attracted the landholders of America, so the Spanish Antilles remained relatively deserted and impoverished.

On the other hand, Brazil profited from its natural advantages—excellent lands on the coast, adequate rainfalls, and good harbors close to the sugar cane plantations. In addition, a commercial organization for the distribution of sugar in Europe already existed in Brazil. This organization was well established since the fifteenth century, a result of its sugar trade. Also, Brazil had the advantage of the harbor of Lisboa, partners, credit, and installations in Amberes. The capital for investments came from the Netherlands, in the form of associations between producers from Brazil and Flemish merchants in Europe. The problem of an inadequate work force was solved by the direct importation of a large number of black slaves from the Portuguese factories in Guinea and Angola. In this way, the colonization of tropical America with its monoculture revitalized the role of slavery in the occidental civilization and caused the largest transoceanic immigration recorded in history. The commercial maritime routes of slaves were integrated with those of the sugar industry, so slavery became its by-product.

Thus, Brazil was the first region that developed a new socioeconomic structure in the seventeenth century: the sugar cane plantation. The prominent part of the sugar industry was the mill for the processing of the juice and the refining of sugar, which soon gave its name (*engenho, ingenio* in Hispanic America) to the whole plantation, *ingenio azucarero* (sugar mill). The sugar mill, a very particular mixture of capitalist exploitation and patriarchal society, was the place where the Iberian, African, and Indian races and civilizations were integrated. Later, this was to be the model to be copied by the rest of tropical America, first in the Minor Antilles, then in some of the English colonies in North America, and finally in Spanish Cuba in the nineteenth century.

The Economic Reconquest of the Ultramarine Provinces

For a long period of time, beginning around 1640, when the Spanish monarchy of the Hapsburgs disintegrated and Portugal and Castile definitely separated after six decades of peninsular unity, the economic relations between the Castilian colonies and their metropolis weakened. This weakening occurred when the Iberian monopoly was broken as a result of the commerce of the American products and when the colonies began the integration and regionalization of the Hispanic American economies.

From the middle of the eighteenth century and under the rule of different ministers such as the Marquis de la Ensenada, a new ultramarine policy was designed to reform the administration of the American colonies and transform the organization of the transatlantic commerce. The new monarchy, the Bourbons, desired power and prestige. They tried to rebuild the monarchy's political, military, and economic control of the colonies overseas. Their main objective was the intensification of economic relations between the metropolis and the colonies. They tried to increase the production of goods in America that would not compete with those of the metropolis; they wanted the colonies to serve as a consumer market for the national products, once the metropolis developed the almost nonexistent metropolitan industry. They designed a new colonial deal, which stated that the coastal territories would become the exporters of raw materials to the metropolis and at the same time the consumer market for the manufactured articles from the Peninsula. Such a deal went against many existing interests, such as those of the creole oligarchies and those of other powerful countries that had an important position in the American market, such as England.

The economic policy of the Enlightenment reforms, applied in the Indies to the field of production, was directed toward the mining industry. Its main goal was to increase production and economic income, a difficult task in a world market in which the price of silver declined steadily even when demand increased. The Bourbons sent technical and scientific missionaries—some of them German and some Spanish who had studied in Germany, because the Germans were the models in the mining industry and in army affairs—to modernize the metal industry and methods of extraction from deeper and poorer veins. The missions created technical mining schools in Mexico and Lima for the technical renovation of the industry. The results of these mining reforms were very uneven. In Nueva España, they were a success, while in Peru and Nueva Granada, the missions were a complete failure.

The Bourbonic reforms succeeded in the creation of royal monopolies administered by direct effort. These monopolies represented the first serious national industry in Spain that had good economic results. The objective of some monopolies, such as the monopoly of gun powder or quicksilver, was to improve the quality and

distribution of the article, reducing its selling price against a moderate profit by the monopoly. The objective of other monopolies was to maximize profit; such a monopoly was the monopoly of game cards, in which the agent was just an importer and distributor of game cards made in the Peninsula.

Very important in this group of royal monopolies was the monopoly on tobacco, which was important for many reasons. In many regions, the production and curing of tobacco was a commerical monocultivation that represented the base of the region's economic life. Except for the precious metals, cured and packed tobacco, as well as cocao, represented the highest percentage of all the products exported from America to the Peninsula (about 48 percent and 70 percent, in the eighteenth century, but in this percentage, cacao tended to rise in price and tobacco to fall). Nueva España and the Caribbean regions, in that century, were the world's principal consumers. The use of tobacco had extended through all of America, even to the nonproductive regions.

In other types of export production, the nation adopted a series of important legislative and fiscal regulations that stimulated business. For example, there were a series of dispositions directed to encourage and nationalize the importation of slaves to work in the production of tropical crops, especially cocoa in Venezuela, sugar in Cuba, and indigo blue in Central America. The Spanish tried to take over the slave trade, exclusively in the hands of the French and English during the first half of the eighteenth century, especially when the *Compañía gaditana de negros* was created (1765) and the first domains of Guinea (Annobón and Fernando Islands, 1778) were acquired, but the results were very moderate.

Despite the limited influence of the legal and fiscal encouragements, the economic exportation sector grew. The American products exported to Spain increased in volume and in value until they reached 25 percent, approximately, of the total of exports; the other 75 percent were precious metals. These products comprised mainly: manufactured agricultural tropical products (refined sugar), semi-manufactured (raw leaves of tobacco), nonelaborated (cocao, tinctorial materials, cotton, and, later, coffee), stock farm products (leather, furs), and mining (Chilean copper).

Also, the nation encouraged exportation among the colonies, if it did not interfere with the products exported from Spain. So, for example, wines and *aguardiente* from Peru did not sell because they competed with those from the Peninsula. On the other hand, the export of furs and leather from Buenos Aires increased from 150,000 pieces annually to nearly a million and a half; the export of candle wax for the manufacturing of candles developed into a commercial business; later, the meat salting process developed rapidly, and meat was exported from Buenos Aires to Cuba and Brazil.

The commercial legislation was the most efficient and was more generalized to encourage American production and exports. But these economic policies also encouraged public services such as the improvement of harbors and roads and the construction of bridges, fortifications, public buildings, and naval constructions. Nevertheless, the objective of finding markets in America for Peninsula goods was not realized except in a few instances. The traditional agricultural goods exported from Andalucia to America (good wine, olives, olive oil, vinegar, dried fruits, wax) were maintained, and to these were added Valencian aguardiente, mainly those from Cataluña. The Basques' ironwork products retained their market overseas. Cataluña was the only region that opened new markets in America with its weaving of cotton (plain and printed) and paper, whose demand increased after the Mexican invention of *papelito* or the modern cigarette. The Peninsula hats, in part manufactured with Peruvian wool vicuña, started to sell overseas after 1750, as a result of strong protectionism. All this meant little, if we consider the ultramarine industrial production that was considerably greater and more diversified than believed, and that in certain regions and at certain times in the eighteenth century reached a nearly complete self-sufficiency.

However, we have to consider that the Bourbon reforms contributed in different ways to activate the economic life in the colonies and to encourage the relations between the ultramarine provinces and their metropolis.

THE HISPANIC PROCESS OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIES

The Will to Know: Stages of an Understanding

The hero protagonists of the first European exploration and occupation movement in the New World, saturated by a flourish of humanism in Castile, approached the understanding of American nature and culture in a curious and practical way. Certainly, many Europeans showed curiosity at the presence of the novelties and wonders of the *Quarta Pars*. They tried hard to see and understand the accounts of the lands and people of the Americas. An example is Hernán Cortés, who, when studying the mysteries of the volcanoes, observed with fascination the Indian customs and investigated diligently the "secrets of these parts." The chronicler soldier Pedro Cieza de León, author of the monumental *Crónica del Perú* from 1540 to 1553, is an important member of the curious Europeans. Since the beginning of his work, he appraised his direct knowledge of the object of his research and his eagerness in understanding the reasons

of the American natural and moral phenomena. He says:

> For this I entered this city (Panamá): and then the harbor of Uraba, that it is under the province of Cartagena, not too far from the Darien river: where I will tell of the Indian towns and the Spanish cities that exist from there to the village of Plata and Potosí, which mark the end of Southern Perú. In my opinion there are more than one thousand two hundred leagues of road: which I walked all by land. I tried, saw, and knew things that I deal in this history: which I have seen very carefully and diligently, so I can write truthfully, as I should, without mixing with perverse things.

But, too, this knowledge had practical objectives. Since the beginning of the occupation of the American territory, even before landing on the continent, the Castilian governors showed interest in obtaining income from the colonization as well as in their will to know the New World. For example, in the instructions given to Columbus for his fourth trip in 1502, he was ordered to research nature and the society of the Antilles with the object of increasing the knowledge about the islands and the people there.

As a result of these concerns of the metropolitan bureaucracy, it was possible to acquire knowledge of the geography and hydrography of the explored and occupied lands. The hydrographical knowledge was encouraged as a result of the instructions of King Ferdinand the Catholic to his captain, Américo Vespucci, when he pointed out his attributions by decree on August 6, 1508. The nautical research program was centralized in the Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla. This effort made possible the elaboration of a general pattern for the lands and islands of the Indies, which was named *Padrón Real* and by which all the pilots were ruled and governed.

At this time, the emigration of American species throughout the world began, which was declared to be "the most extensive, prominent, universal and transcendent" of world history. When this first reached Europe nobody knows, but Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo received the title of *Primer Naturalista del Nuevo Mundo* (First Naturalist of the New World) for his excellent and popular descriptions made in 1535 in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (General and Natural History of the Indies). In this history, he described 43 fruit trees, 34 wild trees, eight medicinal trees and plants, and 10 grasses, most of them from the Española island and Tierra Firme (the continent).

From 1520 to 1533, when the Castilians encountered the high Meso-American and Andean cultures, the instruments of control of the continental American land were developed. New social problems then appeared that needed answers of a new kind. In this historic moment, it was necessary to centralize the commerce of the ultramarine government, and the *Consejo de Indias* was established around 1523 to 1524. There were numerous pressures from the soldiers, protagonists of the invasions of continental America, to dispose of the work force of these territories. This obligated the colonial bureaucracy to increase the gathering and classification of information. That originated and developed disciplines related to colonial domination and control of the land, as well as political geography, statistics, ethnology, and natural history.

In effect, the use of the knowledge was necessary for the distribution and commission of the Indian labor force. Before the Crown gave favors to the conquerors, the monarch had to know the value of their lands and the number of men to be distributed. The Crown urged the elaboration of the description of the different American regions, following questionnaires that were sent from the metropolis. Thus began an interest in knowing systematically what American nature (as well as culture) was like. It is printed in the decree signed in Monzón on December 19, 1533:

> The King—Governor don Pedro Alvarado, our governor of the Province of Goathemala, because we want to have news of what is happening in that Province and its quality, I ask you to send a long report on the greatness of that Province, how wide and how long, and the specific limits with their proper names and how these limits are determined. Also, the quality and oddities there, particularly those of each town. What is its population of natives, its rules and customs. Also, what Spanish neighbors and inhabitants are there? Where do each one live? How many of them are married with Spanish women or with Indian women? How many are ready to get married? What harbors and rivers are there? What buildings? What animals and birds are there? So, signed by you and your officers, send it to the Consejo de Indias, telling as true as you can all what you are going to report and with it you will serve me. Monzón, December 19, 1533.

So the need to obtain authentic information about a totally unknown world forced the Spaniards to collect the testimonies in great scale. The Spanish functionaries sent many questionnaires destined to collect particular information about geography, climate, production, and the inhabitants of the Spanish possessions in America.

In the process of obtaining practical knowledge about the New World, it is necessary to point out the task of various functionaries and missionaries, whose works were saturated with anthropological sensibilities. These

functionaries and missionaries answered the necessities that arose along the course of the conquest, like those of how to exploit the American resources and how to govern and convert its inhabitants.

The royal functionaries who arrived from Spain were used to thinking in legal and historical terms. Their way of thinking was applied to the new land where they performed their job. They determined the obligations of an Indian to his commissioner. They investigated the quantity of taxes paid by the primitive landlord before the conquest. Visiting functionaries who had been sent to the Indian localities tended to write complicated reports on history, the possessions of the land, and the succession of laws of the Indian societies. The reports of the most intelligent and rigorous of the functionaries, such as Alonso de Zorita in Nueva España, or Hernando de Santillán in Peru, were essays on applied anthropology and offered a great quantity of information on Indian customs and society. This information was then processed in the metropolis for the purpose of designing regulations for their colonial policy.

The missionaries, in their way, realized that a successful missionary activity was not possible without an understanding of the Indian life and ways. This awareness encouraged and justified the great studies on pre-Columbian history, religion, and society by religious orders in the sixteenth century. To realize such tasks, they had to learn the Indian languages, and this led them to compile dictionaries and grammar books, such as the first Quechua grammar book, published in Valladolid in 1560 by the Dominican Frey Domingo de Santo Tomás. The understanding of the Indian languages evolved through the exploration of the Indian culture and religion by missionaries.

As a result of their knowledge, Christian humanism, and political motivations, many of these missionaries participated actively in the debate taking place in Castile and in the Indies in the sixteenth century about the degree of humanism in the American countries. For some Spaniards, the Indians were inferior beings, naturally lazy and inclined to vice. Other Spaniards, serious critics of their fellow citizens in the Indies, tried hard to obtain proof of the rationality of the Indians. Thanks to the work of some authors, especially the Dominicans (among them Las Casas and Vitoria), the capacity for social life of the American Indian was demonstrated; these authors pointed out the right of the Indians to form part of the international community. The authors maintained that such a community cannot be reserved only for Christians because all rational men were citizens of "all the sphere, that in certain way formed a republic." During the decade of the 1550s, Las Casas wrote his monumental *Apologética Historia* (Apologetic History), a great essay on comparative cultural anthropology. It represents an extraordinary intent, ambitious and erudite, to include the inhabitants of the New World in the general panorama of human civilization. The social and religious customs of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, and other countries of ancient times of the Old World are examined in relation to the Aztecs and the Incas.

The last phase of the systematic and global knowledge of the American reality during the sixteenth century occurred during the reign of Philip II. The aspiration to increase the knowledge about America was manifested in many forms. In 1565, the Sevillian doctor, Nicolás Monardes, published his famous study on the medicinal plants of America, whose title is *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde* in its English translation by John Frampton in 1577. This work notably increased the knowledge of the medical and therapeutic properties of the herbs and plants of the New World. By this time, it was known that the New World, which had brought syphilis to Europe, also had facilitated the cure with *lignum vitae*.

Almost at the same time that the work of Monardes was published, a naturalist from Bologna, Ulisse Aldrovandi, created a botanical garden and museum, for which he constantly asked for specimens from America. Preoccupied by the lack of a methodology in the books on America, he asked permission of the Great Duke of Tuscany to take a scientific expedition to the Indies in 1569. He never received the permit, but a year later, Philip II sent to America Francisco Hernández, a doctor from his court. For six years, he traveled in Mexico, studying the plants and asking questions of the native doctors and pharmacists and collecting for his six volumes of books. The books had diagrams and drawings of what he observed. He got sick and resigned to continue his investigations in Peru. He returned to Spain with a large collection of birds, insects, fish, reptiles, and live plants. He died in 1578, and only part of his great treasure was published a generation later. Even though his manuscript was destroyed by a fire in the palace El Escorial in 1671, a copy of his book was discovered and published.

During the reign of Philip II, the royal interest in increasing the control of the colonies was revived. The enormous quantity of research on all American affairs was growing; this growth was encouraged by Juan de Ovando, who was the president reformer of the Consejo de Indias. A series of orders urged the increase of knowledge about the American world. Questionnaires were sent that made possible the elaboration of several geographical reports. For example, in November 1568, the viceroy of Peru was ordered to ensure that every person who wanted to make new discoveries had to make a

commitment, among other things, "to supply abundant ethnographic information." People were also asked:

> To provide information about the customs, quality and ways of living, treatment of the native people, their religion and what they worshiped and sacrified, what cults existed, how they ruled and governed themselves, if they had kings or if they elected officials, if they were governed by the right of blood, or if they were governed as republics or by lineage and what rents and taxes they paid.

The relationship between the concern to increase the control of the American land by the metropolis and the scientific knowledge of the New World by Philip II is also manifest in two events that happened simultaneously in 1571. In that year, the ministry of the Indies was created, and Juan López de Velasco, who was a very close collaborator of Juan de Ovando, was put in charge. Through his efforts, the *Ordenanzas Reales del Consejo de Indias* (Royal Ordinances of the Council of the Indies) decreed the need to write a descriptive book about all the Indian provinces.

Between 1571 and 1574, Velasco wrote a *Geografia y descripción universal de las Indias* (Universal Geography and Description of the Indies), published completely in 1894. This was a brilliant and magnificent synthesis of the information available about geography, natural phenomena, and peoples of the Indies.

This process of systematization of the knowledge collected about nature and cultures of the New World was culminated by the Jesuit José de Acosta. In 1590, he published in Seville his *Historía natural y moral de las Indias* (Natural and Moral History of the Indies). In the introduction to the reader, he expresses why he considered his work a new enterprise:

> Of the New World and Occidental Islands many authors of different books and chronicles had been written giving information of the new and strange things discovered in those parts, and of the events of the Spaniards who had conquered and inhabited there. But since now, I have not seen an author who dealt or declared the causes and reasons of such novelties and oddities of nature, nor that had discoursed or inquired about this part of the world. Not even I have found a book whose argument discussed the deeds and history of the real ancient Indians and natural inhabitants of the new hemisphere... So, even though the New World is not any more new, but old, as there are so many that had said and written about it, still I think that, in some way, this history could be a new history, because it is history and in part philosophy, and because it is not only about nature, but, also deals with the free will which is the deeds and customs of men. That's why it appeared to me that by giving the title Natural and Moral History of the Indies, I embraced both things.

In effect, as Acosta emphasized, this was the first time that a great synthesis was intended to demonstrate to the European readers, in a reasonable way, the use of scientific method and the special characteristics of American nature and its people.

In the eighteenth century, with the new dynasty of the Bourbons, scientific knowledge was encouraged again. After the War of Succession, the first Bourbon kings created several institutions such as the school of military engineers to prepare technicians for the defense of the Atlantic routes and the colonial territories. The work of the technicians—most of them soldiers—was intended to improve naval constructions, fortifications of the maritime cities, cartography of the American territory, sea charts, and the manufacture of gunpowder and cannons.

Two sailors who were protagonists of the new stage of the scientific relations between Spain and America were Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, young officers of the Navy who traveled to America in 1735. They accompanied a group of French scientists, directed by La Condamine, who was sent by the Academy of Sciences of France to the Audience of Quito in Ecuador to measure the longitude of one degree of meridian to decide if the earth was flat at the poles.

After staying for a long time in the American lands, observing the deficiencies in the function of the colonial system, both marines were actively committed to the scientific renovation that was taking place in the metropolis under the reign of Ferdinand VI. In 1753, the Astronomic Observatory and in 1755 the Botanical Garden were created. Both institutions gave instructions in modern science to a group of astronomers specialized in the technics of geodesy and nautic astronomy and to a group of botanists specialized in the study of medicinal plants. The instruments to improve the scientific knowledge of the American colonies were starting to develop.

Years after, in 1776, during the reign of Charles III, the museum or *gabinete* (cabinet) of natural history was founded in Madrid and directed by Pedro Franco Dávila, who was from Gayaquil but was living in Europe. To supply the museum, help was required from all the Spanish domains. The document published by Franco Dávila revealed an effort to obtain all the existing specimens of minerals, animals, birds, insects, reptiles, shells, petrifications, archeological objects, and all the numerous representatives of the vegetal realm. So, for example, of all the trunks and branches of the trees, they had to send a piece of the wood with its bark, approximately 16 inches (42 cms.) long by 6 inches (15 cms.) in diameter; a

small branch with leaves and flowers; the fruit of the tree dried or preserved in liquor or in sugar cane aguardiente; the tree seeds; the tree sap, balsam, or oil, either pure or extracted by incision or pressure. They had to send also the local name of the tree, its history, and a list of its qualities and uses.

There was special interest in the so-called cinnamon tree from Quijos, in Quito, as well as in the snails or caterpillars inhabiting the tree and in the butterflies developing from them. Other specimens needed were: the quina, the source of quinine; the grass *icho* (found in the high mountains), which is useful for making mats and ropes, for food for the llamas, and for use in the melting of cinnabar and in the extraction of mercury; the Paraguayan tea (mate grass); the *obocuro*, a plant found in the southern part of Paraguay that looks like a watermelon; the coca, the stimulating dried leaves chewed by the Indians in the Andes, along with the lye used in chewing; the grass *mataduras*; the *hualhua* used by the Indians to cure wounds; the *ipecacuana*; *jalap*, the plant of Nueva España and Guatemala from which the indigo blue was obtained; the plant on which the cochineal (producers of tints) fed; all kinds of pines, especially the edible pinon nuts; the great larch from the southern part of Chile; all the species of cedars; the ebony from Peru; the resin of the *cascol* from Guayaquil; a large number of woods, such as rosewood, the wood of Brazil, the yellow sandalwood and other woods (*cocobolo, colorado, violeta, moradillo, serpentina, paloferro, granadillo* [red ebony] from the West Indies, *Campeche* wood (log wood), the white *acebo* (holly tree), the white balsam (a very hard and heavy wood), the black balsam from Peru, and balsam from Copaiba; numerous oils and resins, such as the oil of María and of *palo*; the resin of the *palo santo* (*lignum vitae*); lemon gum; sandarach gum; benzoin gum, similar to the almond; storax gum; laca gum; "and all the plants, roots, fruits and seeds useful in medicine or for dyeing, or for any other thing convenient to men and beasts, etc."

As a result of that petition, the Indian mummies, condor feathers, skulls, sea lions, an embalmed monster, butterflies, insects, minerals, and dried plants soon started to arrive at the Gabinete de Historia Natural de Madrid (Ministry of Natural History of Madrid).

But the great qualitative increment in knowledge about America in the metropolis during the eighteenth century happened in the 1780s. An ambitious program of Spanish expeditions to American lands was produced, favored by a new climate of peace in the relations between the great countries and colonies in the New World. The pact *El Pardo* (1778) ended the conflicts with Portugal regarding the limits of both empires in South America. The disputes with England calmed down with the Treaty of Versailles (1785), in which the independence of the British colonies in the United States was recognized. America became a favorable link in the international scene, the focus of all the policies in process, and the attraction of the financial resources necessary for the reform of its metropolis. This project required reforms in the colonies. It was important to have definite demographic, economic, and geographic data of all kinds. To collect and process this information, it was necessary to have personnel and agents who had knowledge about modern science. Persons who had been involved in the preparation of the institutions mentioned above were: from the Observatory, sailors skilled in the sketching of maps, of sea charts, and of coasts; and from the Botanical Garden, "those capable of making a sanitary reform and improving the health and nutrition conditions of the population."

During the reign of Charles III, when Gálvez was in the Secretariat of the Indies, Castejón in the Secretariat of the Navy, and Floridablanca in the Secretariat of State, the Spanish science was oriented toward exploration, knowledge, and the reform of the colonial territories. The function of collecting, studying, codifying, and disseminating the collected information by the expeditionaries was entrusted to two new institutions created to realize these tasks: the *Depósito Hidrográfico* (Hydrographical Station) and the *Oficina Botánica* (Botanical Office).

The most important of such scientific expeditions were:

(1) The expedition of the botanists Hipólito Ruiz and José Pavón to the viceroyship of Peru (1777-1788). Its objective, as established by the reign, was: "the methodical examination and knowledge of the natural productions of my domains in America, not only to encourage the progress of the physical sciences, but also, to destroy the doubts and the adulterations in medicine, painting and other important arts, and to increase commerce, and to create herbariums and collection of natural products, describing and delineating the plants found in those of my fertile domains to enrich my Ministry of Natural History and the Botanical Garden of the Court." When they returned to Spain, they brought 29 boxes of herbariums and drawings and more than 100 live plants for the Royal Botanical Garden. Their main collection of 53 boxes with 800 drawings, dried plants, seeds, resins, balsams, and minerals was lost when the ship that carried it shipwrecked off the coast of Portugal. Ruiz and Pavón published their *Prodromus* in Madrid in 1794 and, a few years later, three volumes of the *Flora Perúviana et Chilensis*.

(2) The Royal Expedition to Nueva Granada was directed by José Celestino Mutis (1783-1808). This doctor

from Cadiz and his assistants established a botanical garden in Quito and, in 1791, moved the base to Bogota. The functionaries were changed every year, but frequently there were 15 or 20 botanists and artists collecting, describing, and illustrating plants of the viceroyship. As a result of this magnificent activity, 11 volumes of books and nearly 7,000 botanical illustrations were sent to Madrid, together with 124 boxes of seeds, samples of wood, minerals, and a herbarium of 20,000 plants. This wonderful collection was not published till recently, when the governments of Spain and Columbia published 50 volumes of the *Flora de la real expedición botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Flora of the Royal Botanical Expedition of the New Reign of Granada). Mutis was also the principal promoter of the illustrated science of the viceroyship in New Granada. He contributed to the formation of an advanced scientific elite in America. His works, only partially published in his time, were rapidly known through Linneo and Humboldt.

(3) The Royal Botanical Expedition to Nueva España was directed by Martín de Sessé Lacosta (1787-1796). Sessé was the director of a group of naturalists and artists who collected and analyzed plants from the island of Vancouver to Guatemala. A Mexican botanist, José Mariano Mocino, joined the expedition and proved to be one of the most capable members. Sessé and Mocino arrived in Spain in 1803 with a magnificent herbarium and 1400 botanical illustrations perfectly sketched, but the Napoleonic wars prevented their publication.

(4) The expedition around the world of Alejandro Malaspina was the most comprehensive of all the scientific voyages organized by the Bourbons in the eighteenth century. From 1789 to 1795, the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, which carried on board the naturalists Antonio Pineda, Louis Née, and Tadeo Haenke, visited the American harbors from the Patagonia to the bay of Nootka. Pineda lived eight months in Mexico, while the rest of the group went to California and then returned. Later, the ships crossed the Pacific Ocean and stopped in Guam, the Philippines, New Zealand, and the Fuji Islands. Then they returned to South America and finally arrived in Spain, where their investigations were not too well appreciated because Malaspina fell in disgrace with the government.

The Dimensions of the American Impact on the Spanish Technical-Scientific Experience

During the colonial experience, four areas of knowledge were developed in the Iberian Peninsula because of the stimulus received from America:

(1) The Science and Technique of Navigation

La Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla (The House of Commerce of Seville) was a great center for the collection of data and experiences about American navigation. The methods for establishing routes, distances, and the measurements of latitudes and longitudes of the sea, and the objective of making nautical maps were the most important goals of the cosmographers of the House of Commerce.

In the eighteenth century, the school for sailors was modernized under the wonderful program of the Bourbonic policy to reform the Navy. The Astronomical Observatory of Cadiz, created and organized by Jorge Juan, was in charge. The new navigational methods showed their efficiency in facilitating the ambitious program of scientific expeditions during the reigns of Charles III and Charles IV. After the expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, the scientific methods of cartography of coasts became very precise. Tofino organized the Hydrographic Deposit of Madrid, a specialized center for cartographing the coasts of the Empire. The Hydrographic Deposit published the *Atlas marítimo español* and the *Atlas marítimo americano*. These two great works were the product of the wonderful expeditionary effort that had international repercussions.

(2) The Ordinance of the American Territory

Since the beginning of the conquest, the metropolis generated mechanisms to control the American lands. The *Relaciones geográficas* (Geographic Relations) were sent to Spain from all the overseas provinces during the colonial period. The policy of administrative control designed by the Bourbons encouraged a renewed interest in the frontier territories of Spain and Portugal in South America. Many research projects were originated in the hydrographic, mineral, botanic, zoological, and anthropological areas. In the Ibero-American cities, the potential of control of the Crown and its agents increased, giving the opportunity for the development of urban cartography.

(3) The Scientific and Technical Research on Mining and Metallurgy

The discovery of the method of amalgamation of American silver during the second half of the sixteenth century made possible one of the most spectacular processes of the production of silver in the Modern Age. This discovery gave a base to a contin-

uous process of technological innovations. Mercury and salt, necessary in the amalgamation process, became strategic minerals of the Empire. Its exploitation was subjected to a special management under the direct control of the Crown. The old quicksilver mines of Almadén became very important. Under the administration of the Fuggers, they reached a very high degree of technical specialization. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, there was intent to modernize the mining exploitation. For this purpose, three great expeditions were organized. The first was directed by the Baron Nordenflicht to Peru, where he intended to build new sugar mills invented by Born. The second expedition was to Nueva Granada, directed by Juan José de Elhuyar. The third expedition to Nueva España was directed by Fausto de Elhuyar. Here he organized the most important technological center in the world: The Mining School of Mexico.

(4) The Progress in the Investigations on Health and Nourishment

The knowledge of the living conditions in the American lands gave the colonies a steady demographic base after the initial stage of the conquest. From the medical point of view, the major challenge of the Renaissance was the research and treatment of various kinds of diseases resulting from the contact of two demographic aggregates (European and American) with a different epidemic experience. Syphillis was the first disease associated with the ultramarine trips. In the hospitals founded in the Indies, a process of medical acculturation was generated. Peninsular and Indian doctors worked together to cure diseases, particularly in the use of medicinal herbs, which enabled the renovation of the classical European pharmacopoeia.

On the other hand, the vegetables discovered in America were essential to the European demographic establishment against the continuous famine that affected Europe because of its poor agricultural practices. It was the object of medical research to analyze the effect on health of the essential foods such as: corn, potatoes, tomatoes, coca, tobacco, cocoa, and sugar. In the eighteenth century, the economic ideas of the Bourbon governors gave great importance to the steady increase of the population. Since the middle of that century, the old sanitary institutions were reactivated in this reform. The modern botany occupied a privileged position in this sanitary reform. The Botanic Garden of Madrid was the center of a vast program of acclimatization of useful plants for their medical and industrial uses and destined for commercialization in Europe. Botanic expeditions, previously mentioned, were organized to collect and research the American plants.

CONCLUSIONS

As we have tried to demonstrate, the histories of the American societies and the Iberian countries were united throughout the Modern Age.

The resources of the New World stimulated the economic activity of the Iberian Peninsula, but at the same time, the colonies interfered with the development of capitalism.

At first, the Castilians realized the importance of the displacement of the European frontiers and that this displacement had produced a change in the economic center from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Castilians responded to the new challenge with new ideas and a keen eye to obtain benefits offered by the American frontiers. Two hundred thousand Spanish people emigrated to America in the sixteenth century seeking new opportunities on the other side of the Atlantic. These were enterprising men with initiative, who risked themselves for a new way of life, in a strange environment, with the objective of improving their situation. They faced, without a doubt, a loss of quality of living in the Castilian settlement. Notwithstanding, they created important economic and social advantages. Many of the emigrants sent money to their homes. Others, the famous *indianos* and *peruleros*, made a fortune in the Indies and returned to Spain.

Life in the New World offered the Castilians more space to operate. Fundamentally, it encouraged the movement of wealth, people, and ideas.

At the same time, the New World produced the *corto-circuito de la modernidad* (the short circuit of modernity)—the failure of the Spanish bourgeoisie to fulfill their historic function as enterprising leaders during many decades. The well-organized businesses in America produced enormous benefits that stimulated the formation of capital and the rise of bourgeoisie in America. For example, one of the merchants who operated in the Indies, Gaspar de Espinosa, returned to Spain in 1522 with a fabulous wealth of a million pesos in gold after living six years in Panama. But such economic benefits did not favor the consolidation of a solid bourgeoisie, as the Espinosa case revealed. Sixty-nine members of his family were businessmen in the sixteenth century. Forty-four of them maintained commercial contact with the Indies. Most of them looked alike and behaved like the bourgeois model studied by Sombart. However, the history of that bourgeois family ended with the gradual resignation of their businesses and with their transformation from enterprisers to lazy landlords living on their easy rental income.

On the other hand, the research and experience of American nature, acquired by the Spaniards, produced remarkable contributions to the history of science and technical discoveries.

The research on American nature made it possible to verify the spherical shape of the earth and the configuration of the great marine currents of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. It also helped to deepen knowledge about the great telluric phenomena, such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. New minerals and chemical elements were discovered, such as vanadium.

The American flora was studied from the very first moment of the European occupation. Special attention was given to the nourishment of the Indian population, as well as to the origin of tropical diseases and their remedies. Fifty plants cultivated today are of American origin.

Also the "new American animals" were studied and classified, because of the descriptions given by Columbus, Alvarez Chanca, Fernández de Oviedo, Francisco Hernández, José de Acosta, and Bernabé Coco. The useful animals were rapidly adopted in the Old World, such as the chinchilla.

Finally, in the course of the conquest, it is important to emphasize how America allowed the Castilians to discover the unity of the human race stemming from their polemics about the nature of the American man.

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The Hispanics in the United States

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THE FIRST HISPANICS

The first Hispanics in the United States were those 75,000 Mexicans who were living in the Southwest in the middle of the nineteenth century, when that part of the country fell under United States control. From then on, their number grew, and today, 140 years later, nineteen million Hispanics constitute the second-largest minority group in the country. Their roots are found in Mexico (63 percent), Puerto Rico (12 percent), and Cuba (5 percent), with the rest originating in Central and South America, the Caribbean, and the Iberian Peninsula. It is estimated that by the year 2000 their number will increase to 30-35 million, or 15 percent of the total population; they will then be the largest minority group. As such, they will have a determining influence on the politics, economy, and culture of their chosen country.

In the United States, *Hispanic* (or *Latino*) is a catchall term for those groups whose roots are in the Iberian Peninsula or Latin America. But the Latin minority is not homogeneous. It includes blacks, whites, Native Americans, and very commonly, *mestizos* (people of mixed race). All of these people come from the diverse cultures of many nations and have adapted to their new country in different ways.

The history of the Hispanics in the United States began between 1845 and 1853, when Mexico lost, through annexation, war, and purchase, the area that includes what now is Texas, New Mexico, part of California, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, and Utah.

This newly-acquired population became a minority when Americans began to move west in great numbers. Mexicans were removed from political control, excluded from deciding economic matters, and offered work in inferior conditions. Considered racially and culturally inferior, the first 75,000 Mexicans, along with those who followed down through the years, became foreigners in their own land. They were alienated from the language, laws, and finally from the ways of life imposed on them.

Fundamental to the development of the southwestern United States, the Mexican presence provided the manpower, laws, techniques, tools, and customs that the territory's new owners used in mining and in raising cattle and sheep. Mexicans, heirs to the long Spanish mining tradition, showed the way to the American miners, who had neither the legal precedents nor the experience to exploit the deposits of gold, silver, copper, and mercury that they found in the Southwest. The Mexican minority supplied the labor, the technology, the words (such as *bonanza* and *placer*), and a complete body of regulations culled from 350 years of Iberian and Latin American experience, which became the basis of current United States mining legislation.

The institutions, practices, customs, organization, and personnel of the United States sheep industry owe their existence to the knowledge and skills of the Mexican shepherds and sheep owners, who themselves were students of the Spaniards. The system of extensive properties, the practice of assigning specific grazing rights to individuals, the division of labor—a pyramid with the shepherds at the bottom and the sheep owners at the top—are still prevalent on the large sheep ranches in the Southwest. The Spanish mesta system, which defined and safeguarded the rights of seasonal migration of shepherds and their flocks, facilitated sheep drives to California, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. This system is reflected today in the various ranchers associations.

Mexicans played an enormous part in the development of the southwestern cattle industry as well. The Mexican *vaquero* was the predecessor of the American cowboy, who fused the two cultures in many ways. The cowboy adopted or adapted many Spanish words and expressions, such as *chaparral*, *stampede*, and *corral*. Today, as in the past, the cowboy uses a saddle that is different from the traditional English one. He uses the Hispano-American system of branding cattle and registering brands. He goes to rodeos, where he yields to the decision of judges who are descendants of the country judges who settled disputes throughout the Iberian Peninsula and later south of the Rio Grande. The division of labor

on the large cattle ranches, as on the sheep ranches, was and is semifeudal. The owners are united in powerful organizations based on the Spanish mesta, an organization of cattle breeders.

The Hispano-Mexican tradition is the source for legislation that still, today, guarantees access to water as well as property rights of women and of the community in the Southwest.

Americans had little experience in cultivation with irrigation. Their laws reflected cultures in which water abounded and riparian rights were defended. In contrast, Hispano-Mexican laws confronted the problem of scarcity of water and the need to irrigate. In Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California, where aridity is a harsh reality, Americans have had to resort to the experience of their predecessors—the Mexicans, Spaniards, and Pueblo Indians—so that their farms could prosper.

After years of litigation and conflict, the majority of the southwestern states abandoned or modified the Anglo-Saxon code and adopted the Mexican law, which conferred on the state the ownership of the waters and the right to permit access to anyone.

In addition, canals, dams, and wells were built in the Mexican way and were considered the property and responsibility of all. Pieces of land were set aside and the water found there was designated for the common good.

Finally, some southwestern states regulate the property rights of women according to Hispano-Mexican civil law. In contrast to customary Anglo-Saxon law, which gave the husband unlimited control over his wife's property and income, the codes of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas protect a woman's inheritance rights as well as the property she accumulates during her marriage.

THE FIRST WAVE OF HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS

The history of Hispanic immigration to the United States consists of three great waves, with periods of massive deportations in between. The timing of these waves depends largely on the highs and lows of the United States economy, the balance of power among the groups that demand cheap labor, and concerns about social problems such as welfare and crime. Also important is the political and economic situation in the country of origin.

The first wave of Hispanic immigrants arrived in the United States in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The majority were fleeing the instability of Mexico, which was in the throes of revolution, and were responding to a demand for cheap labor in agriculture, mining, and the railroads of the Southwest.

The Mexican immigrants transformed the region. They built the first highways in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. They also laid railroad tracks and harvested the vegetables, fruits, and fibers with which millions of Americans fed and clothed themselves.

The exact number of Mexican immigrants is unknown because border crossings were not counted until 1907. After 1907, many people evaded the patrols and official posts. Nevertheless, it is known that the number of people who were of Mexican origin in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California grew from 100,000 in 1900 to 382,000 in 1910.

With the outbreak of World War I, migration increased, and the population of Hispanics in the Southwest grew to 740,000 by 1920. Because of the war, workers were needed to fill the jobs of the men at the front. Fifty farmers in the Southwest, as well as industrialists in the Midwest (St. Louis, Omaha, Denver, Chicago, and Gary) hired Mexicans.

In the '20s, the falling off of agricultural production reduced the rate of immigration. Nevertheless, immigration continued, and immigrants were concentrated in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California, both in rural areas and in growing cities such as San Antonio, Tucson, and Los Angeles.

The first wave of Hispanic immigration came to an abrupt end with the Great Depression. Since the economy was weak and unemployment high, welfare was stretched to the limit, and xenophobia and the violence that accompanies economic recessions increased. Federal and state authorities, along with industries such as the railroads, initiated a massive deportation program.

It has been calculated that between five and six hundred thousand residents of Mexican origin in the states of Texas, California, Illinois, and Indiana were repatriated between 1929 and 1939. Among them were many children and young adults born in the United States. According to the Federal census, the Mexican-American population decreased from 617,000 in 1930 to 377,000 in 1940.

In those years, Puerto Ricans began to join the ranks of the Hispanic minority. The number of Puerto Ricans grew from 2,000 in 1910 to 70,000 in 1940. They settled in New York and thus established a pattern that would last many years.

Regardless of the fact that Puerto Rico has been a United States territory since 1898 and its inhabitants have been United States citizens since 1917, the Puerto Rican group on the mainland did not grow very fast, because ship's passage to the mainland cost what the average person earned in a year.

Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in general led a humble existence as field hands, sharecroppers, day laborers, or, in the best of cases, salaried workers. Their income was

less than half of the non-Hispanic white population who had the same jobs, and their opportunities for advancement where minimal.

The type of work Hispanics did determined where they settled. The majority lived in rural areas, in small villages, or in isolated areas near the railroad tracks; these settlements represented the beginnings of many of today's Hispanic communities. Hispanics also gathered in the center of cities and in neighborhoods where lodging was of poor quality and rents were low.

In reality, there were enclaves, separate from the rest of the population, where Spanish was spoken and children grew up without formal education. This situation made the Hispanic minority practically invisible and its impact on the American political system nonexistent. Few Hispanics became naturalized citizens, and still fewer became voting citizens.

Mexicans and Mexican Americans made a few attempts to improve their conditions. In the '20s and '30s they organized mutual aid societies and unions, as well as far-reaching groups such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), which fought for acculturation as a means of achieving equality. They demonstrated their militancy through various strikes in the Imperial Valley between 1928 and 1936. They participated actively in the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) and other national labor organizations.

During the Depression and the New Deal, the Democratic party earned the loyalty of Mexican Americans. Although many immigrants had been repatriated, the Farm Security Administration regulated the working and living conditions of migratory workers from 1937, and urban programs gave them a minimum of economic security. They also began to benefit from improvements obtained by the farm workers' unions.

THE SECOND WAVE OF HISPANICS

The beginning of World War II gave rise to the second wave of immigration. In 1942, to satisfy the demand for farm labor, Mexico and the United States signed a migrant worker agreement. Tens of thousands of Mexicans received contracts that guaranteed them minimum wage, adequate housing, and transportation home. At the same time, there was a noticeable flow of workers without contracts.

The migrant worker program continued until 1964, when a combination of union and business pressure, along with the relative loss of influence of agricultural interests, caused its demise. During its 22 years, almost five million Mexicans arrived in the United States. To them were added the hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants who worked side by side with the first arrivals but for less money and in worse conditions, and who, in spite of the efforts of the border patrols, kept on coming. It is estimated that about 3.8 million "wetbacks" were deported at that time. Nevertheless, many returned, and though they were often deported again and again, they returned until they managed to stay.

Thus, the original Mexican population grew rapidly. Data from the Census Bureau show that there were five million Mexican Americans in 1960. Another two million undocumented workers also lived in the United States.

The postwar wave of Hispanic immigrants also included Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and Ecuadoreans. Puerto Ricans, for example, numbered 613,000 in 1960. The economic opportunities and social services offered by the United States contrasted with the unemployment and poverty in their own land and thus were crucial factors in their decision to leave. The inauguration of a new, economical air service from San Juan to New York increased the number of immigrants. Puerto Ricans are free to come and go without restrictions; the result of such a policy is that when Puerto Rico is prospering, the flow of immigrants reverses. It is estimated that half of the population has visited the United States at least once.

The Cubans were the third-largest group. The Cuban revolution and the subsequent loss of wealth and power sent some 275,000 people to seek refuge in the United States between 1959 and 1964. The eight million Hispanics living in the United States, especially those of Mexican origin, continued to be concentrated in the Southwest, particularly California. In addition, a considerable number of Mexican Americans had settled in the Midwest, mainly Chicago. Puerto Ricans settled primarily in New York and Cubans in Miami.

Patterns of settlement varied. Jobs in the industrial sector, which had multiplied during the Second World War, accelerated the urbanization process and replaced rural jobs. In 1960, more than 70 percent of the Mexican Americans in California, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Texas were living in cities such as Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Antonio, El Paso, and Phoenix, and there were significant numbers in Denver, Kansas City, Detroit, and Chicago.

Poverty awaited the majority of Hispanics who then arrived in the United States. Many were young and lacked the resources, preparation, or experience necessary to compete in American society. Discrimination, which made survival even more difficult, led to incidents such as the "Pachuco" riots in 1943 in California. The Hispanics concentrated in *barrios*—the East Side of Los Angeles and Spanish Harlem of New York—where rents were low and living conditions were poor. They did the worst jobs for the lowest pay. They were day laborers

and janitors, and in general they did the jobs that Americans did not want to do.

When there was unemployment, residents or citizens had to resort to welfare. Education was also a problem. Schools in Hispanic areas lacked resources, and their scholastic level was low. In 1950, only 8 percent of the students of Mexican origin in the Southwest had finished high school. Though in 1960 this number had risen to 13 percent, it still remained below the 17 percent of blacks and 28 percent of non-Hispanic whites of the same area.

Also, in the '50s, progress was made by second- and third-generation Hispanics and those who had been living for many years in the United States. Thus, the average income of Mexican Americans in the Southwest rose by 5 percent between 1949 and 1959, though it was still less than the 30 percent increase for non-Hispanic whites of the same region. Puerto Ricans, with few exceptions, were the group who suffered the most from poverty and unemployment.

The Cubans were luckier. Of the middle or upper-middle class, they had the necessary education and economic resources. The financial assistance given to them by the United States government went a long way.

At that time, the Hispanics began to participate more in politics. Hundreds of thousands of young men, by serving in the armed forces during the Second World War or the Korean War, or by leaving the farms for the cities, had broadened their outlook.

Associations such as the American G.I. Forum, the Community Service Organization, the Mexican American Political Association, and the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations fought discrimination in all its aspects. They fought for more political participation and equality of opportunity. They campaigned for voter registration, and by putting pressure on the big parties, they lessened certain discriminatory practices, registered more voters, and elected officials such as Joseph Montoya in New Mexico, Henry B. Gonzalez in Texas, Edward R. Roybal in California, and Herman Badillo in New York. In 1960, the Hispanic vote contributed the margin of victory to John F. Kennedy in the states of Texas, New Mexico, and Illinois, and it did the same in 1964 with the election of Lyndon B. Johnson.

These showings presaged a stronger political presence. But in the mid-'60s some Mexican-American leaders realized that voting alone would not bring equality of opportunity.

Strikes by farm workers in California, New Mexico, and Texas were evidence of the resurgence of the labor movement. In spite of their frequent failures, these strikes became the model for protest movements in the '60s.

THE THIRD WAVE OF HISPANICS

In 1965, when the *bracero* agreement with Mexico expired, the immigration law set the maximum number of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere at 120,000 per year, with a maximum of 40,000 per country (later reduced to 20,000).

But this law in no way reflected the reality of the situation, and immigration policies continued to fail. The United States still demanded unskilled labor on farms, in the service areas, in light industry, and in other low-paying jobs that Americans did not want. Hispanics who had left their countries because of poverty were willing to fill these jobs.

The rapid population growth and the modernization programs undertaken by countries such as Mexico displaced large numbers of unskilled workers. In other cases, political repression pushed many Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, and Salvadoreans to seek refuge in the United States.

The economic crisis and the world-wide recession of the 1970s and '80s increased the flow of immigrants. These two factors, in addition to the high birth rate, resulted in Hispanics becoming the second-largest minority in the United States. In 1988, of the 19 million Hispanics, 63 percent have their roots in Mexico; 12 percent in Puerto Rico; 5 percent in Cuba; and the rest in the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, and other countries of Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula. More than 60 percent are immigrants—legal or illegal—and 20 percent have been in the United States less than 10 years.

Of the almost 12 million Hispanics of Mexican heritage, 3.6 million live in California and 2.8 million in Texas; there are also large concentrations in Illinois, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.

In New York and the surrounding area, there are one million Puerto Ricans—more than in the city of San Juan. Another million live in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Miami.

Today, there are one million Cubans living in the United States; 700,000 of these live in metropolitan Miami.

In reality, 90 percent of the Hispanics in the United States, although they come from rural areas, are urban and tend to live together in neighborhoods where they can speak their own language and practice their own customs. In New York, one can find Dominicans, Cubans, Colombians, Ecuadoreans, and Haitians, the latter having given the name of their neighborhood in Port au Prince—La Saline—to their neighborhood in New York.

There are those few middle- and upper-middle class immigrants who arrived with the means to study or

establish themselves in business. There are also many examples of individual successes. Nevertheless, the majority do not share in the advantages of the "American way of life." Most live in poverty and have to struggle. It is estimated that it would take 15 years to raise their level to the national average; that much time would be needed to acquire skills, establish contacts, learn to take advantage of the institutions at their disposal, and improve their work situations.

According to the census office, Hispanic families earned an average of $16,690 in 1983, above the $14,510 earned by black families but much lower than the $25,760 earned by non-Hispanic whites.

The majority of Hispanics, 23 years of age on the average, are unskilled laborers with less schooling than Anglo-Americans. They have larger families, cannot always afford medical services, and are not always eligible for government programs. And since medical services that are accessible to them are often inferior, many Hispanics resort to herbs or witchcraft for healing.

Hispanics of Mexican origin often work as construction workers, gardeners, and workers in foundries and in paper or cement factories. They are janitors in hospitals and airports, waiters in hotels and restaurants, and servants in private homes. Those who have lived longer in the United States have better-paying jobs. The newly-arrived, especially undocumented workers or those who have only completed elementary school, usually are farm laborers.

As stated before, Hispanics have the highest birth rate in the United States. The average couple has 4.5 children, as compared with 2.1 for the average Anglo-American couple. The divorce rate is lower than in other ethnic groups, but people tend to marry young, which interrupts or ends formal education, lessens participation of mothers in the work force, and reduces family income.

Puerto Ricans have had even less success than other Hispanics, partly due to their pattern of shuttling between the island and the mainland. This practice has prevented them from establishing strong roots in America. Another reason for their lack of success is their youth (an average age of 19 in 1971) and dearth of training. The last wave of immigrants, coming from rural parts of the island to cities like New York, could find jobs only as unskilled workers, factory laborers, or civil servants—all at the lowest level.

Family income among Puerto Ricans is very low. The average income of a family of four was $11,300, but 40 percent lived below the official poverty line of $10,778. Unemployment among Puerto Ricans is the highest in the United States. Many are on welfare and suffer from poor health. Their death rate is high.

For Puerto Ricans, as well as for other Hispanics, the family is a source of stability and social security. They marry young and have many children, a practice that prevents women from entering the work force. Their divorce rate is higher than that of the Mexican Americans, and one-third of the households are headed by women.

The Cubans are the most prosperous Hispanics. The businesspersons, professionals, and technicians who arrived in the United States at the beginning of the 1960s already had the training and experience necessary to succeed. Those who arrived later were poorer and are now employed by those who came earlier.

The number of Cuban businesses has grown tremendously, from 919 in 1967 to 13,000 in 1985. Though most are small businesses (employing an average of eight workers), there are some very large ones, especially in manufacturing, that employ hundreds. Thirty-five percent are in service industries (restaurants, supermarkets, real estate, law firms, private schools, funeral homes, and clinics). Twenty-eight percent are in retail. Eleven percent are in textile, shoe, or cigarette factories, and 9 percent are in construction.

In Miami, Cubans control 15 percent-20 percent of the banks, and they have turned the textile industry into an ethnic enclave in which almost all of the owners, managers, and workers are Cuban. Some businesses have an annual income of over $80,000.

Cubans are the oldest Hispanics. Their average age is 37, and they have the lowest birth rate, 3.7 children per couple. They have the most education: more than 80 percenthave finished high school, and many have been to college. They also have the highest income: $17,358/year as opposed to $14,569/year for other Hispanic families in 1979. This income is about $2,400 less than the national average.

In general, Hispanics have little social and geographic mobility. Surrounded by friends and family who provide security and company, they form ethnic enclaves. This self-isolation, along with the latent xenophobia of the rest of society, hinders their integration into the community.

Their vulnerability has increased since the 1970s with higher unemployment and salary cuts. The Anglo-American community's fears that migrant workers would stay and that the "national culture" would be altered resulted in the Simpson-Rodino Law of 1986.

In spite of these obstacles, Hispanics have continued to struggle. The civil rights movement was a cornerstone on which they built. Its achievements include the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Cabinet Committee on Mexican-American Affairs, both of which have become effective instruments in the fight against

poverty and discrimination and have fostered a sense of pride and identity in minority groups.

The *Chicano* movement emerged from this context. (*Chicano* is a term used in place of *Mexican American* and it separates Mexican Americans from both the Anglo-Saxons and the inhabitants of Mexico.) Some people emphasized their own values and traditions. Others actively participated in the political process. The Chicano movement includes those of the *Reies Tijerina* who insist that Anglo-Americans have swindled the Mexicans out of their lands. The movement also boasts of Cesar Chavez, who was the first to successfully defend the rights of the migrant workers. There are also groups such as the Brown Berets, who are willing to resort to violence.

As a result of this new consciousness, the *Raza Unida* party was founded in the 1960s. It became an important political force in the Southwest. Its goals were to promote Hispanic interests and candidates whom it saw as sympathetic. La Raza Unida, headed by Jose Angel Gutierrez, won control of the school board, the police, and the municipal government in Crystal City, Texas, in 1977.

Puerto Ricans have somewhat different problems. As United States citizens, they benefit from government social programs. They do not have to organize to protect their rights or to develop effective leadership. The ties that bind them are, in general, those of family and friendship. Many are late arrivals and have thus been able to enjoy the fruits of efforts made by other minorities. But there have also been groups who have fought for the independence of Puerto Rico and others who have promoted bilingual education and integrated schools.

Cubans began to participate more in the American political process as Fidel Castro consolidated his power and they saw returning to their homeland as less and less possible. Citizenship was rapidly acquired. In contrast to other Hispanic groups who tend to favor Democratic candidates, they, like the Nicaraguans, tend to vote Republican.

The second-largest minority in the United States now has political influence less than its size. However, internal divisions have not hindered its progress nor has political apathy occurred among these groups, who come from countries where elections, if they are held, are insignificant.

Years of efforts have paid off in the elimination of the poll tax, the English requirement, and monolingual voting booths, as well as in the increase of voting information in Spanish. The Southwestern Voter Registration Education Project, founded in 1975, has had notable success. The number of Hispanics registered to vote has tripled since 1975, and as a result, Mark White was elected governor of Texas in 1983. The Midwestern Voter Registration Project was probably responsible for the election of a black, Harold Washington, as mayor of Chicago in 1983.

At city and state levels, the number of Hispanics in public positions has grown. Henry Cisneros is the mayor of San Antonio, Federico Peña is the major of Denver, and Tony Anaya was governor of New Mexico from 1983 to 1986.

The advances in the field of education have been definitive. From the Bilingual Education Law of 1968 to various Supreme Court decisions, children whose knowledge of English is limited because another language is spoken at home (50 percent among Mexican Americans, 70 percent among Puerto Ricans, and 85 percent among Cubans) can have access to bilingual courses. In spite of opposition, many schools have modified their programs to include the language and culture of Hispanics and have hired Spanish-speaking teachers.

Hispanics have continued to fight against discrimination in the schools. But in spite of many court decisions favoring Hispanics, the Anglo-American population still enjoys better facilities and better-trained teachers.

Universities, for their part, have admitted Hispanic students and hired Hispanic teachers. They have begun to offer courses and develop programs dedicated to the Hispanic minority.

It should be pointed out that there are many neighborhood groups who have developed housing and health programs, legal aid, youth, and adult education programs and have begun businesses that are national in scope.

So, at the same time that they have provided the cheap labor that the United States needed, Hispanics have helped realize the promises made by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. By participating in the political process, getting out the vote, demanding bilingual education and voting, fighting discrimination in the schools, modifying school programs, fighting for community development, demonstrating in the streets, or appealing to the Supreme Court, they have made a contribution to society. Much remains to be done to reach the ideal of equality. Hispanics must identify their resources, plan their strategies, and above all, unite and accept responsibility for social change.

HISPANIC CULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

The Hispanic minority in the United States has developed its own culture from its roots in the Iberian, Native American, and black cultures. The culture is marked also by Hispanics' experiences in the United States and the slow penetration of Anglo-Saxon sensibility.

It is an old culture (the first theatrical presentation in North America took place in New Mexico in 1598), which maintains itself partly as a result of the constant flow of immigrants.

It is a culture that, in spite of its diversity and complexity, has common traits: its emphasis on the past, either historical or personal, and its stress on the rights of the community and the importance of the nuclear family. Perhaps, in order to survive in a hostile environment, Hispanics have latched on to their traditions and to their religious and folk ceremonies. They have taken refuge in the *barrios* and have dedicated themselves to the family, which is the true protagonist, as Octavio Paz says, of "Hispanic morality."

The Hispanic minority has resisted the idea of acculturation into American life. Hispanics refuse to renounce their roots, values, and history.

Hispanics have insisted on speaking Spanish and to a lesser degree Portuguese. This practice has resulted in many Spanish words being adopted and/or changed into English (*tornado, rodeo, amigo, chocolate, rancho, patio*) as well as English words being adopted or adapted into Spanish (*taipiar* = to type, *parquear* = to park the car). In many cities, one can hear "Spanglish," a hybrid in which words from both languages are combined and new words are invented.

The number of Spanish speakers in the United States now numbers more than 19 million. Four hundred thousand copies of six daily newspapers circulate. The four largest are *La Opinion* in Los Angeles, *El Manana Daily* in Chicago, *El Diario* in New York, and *El Diario Las Americas* in Miami. Spanish-speaking radio and television stations have multiplied.

The myths, the stories, and the folk traditions that have come down through the years are part of the cultural legacy. The Mexican-American child knows the legend of "La Llorona," knows who Pancho Villa was, and knows about the adventures—real or fictitious—of Joaquin Murrieta.

Derived from, but not limited to, folklore, Hispanic drama, poetry, and novels reflect a growing desire to communicate rather than confront. For years, the main objective has been to protest injustices and reaffirm cultural identity. Now Hispanic literature seeks to better living conditions through social orientation.

Thus, the *Teatro Campesino*, a wandering company founded in the mid-1960s, headed by Luis Valdez and made up of farm workers of Mexican origin, encourages its audiences to join in social activities. The poem "I am Joaquin," by Rodolfo "Cortey" Gonzalez, expresses Chicano strengths and affirmation while rejecting what is exclusively Anglo-American. The novel *Down These Mean Streets*, by Piri Thomas, portrays the life of a Puerto Rican in New York.

Lately, a new generation of writers has embraced a variety of literary styles ranging from political invective to poetic reminiscence. From 1967, when *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* was founded, Mexican Americans who studied their own history and culture could count on a forum for their ideas. *El Grito* has been considered an important instrument in the fight for equality.

There have been many Hispanics in drama, from Ramon Novarro to Edward James Olmos. Ricardo Montalban, Maria Montez, Anthony Quinn, Jose Ferrer, and Rita Moreno are Hispanics who in recent years have appeared in films such as *The Salt of the Earth, El Norte, Zoot Suit*, and *La Bamba*. There are also dancers, choreographers, camerapersons, producers, and directors.

In the plastic arts, Hispanic artists show influences of pre-Colombian, colonial, and contemporary art in Latin America. Their architecture, sculpture, and painting also show what their social and cultural experiences in the United States have been.

In the Southwest, many public and commercial buildings are in the Spanish style; they have arches, patios, and fountains. The Santa Fe style, which combines Hispanic, Native American, and Anglo-American elements, has become fashionable; houses in this style are built of adobe with chimneys of clay, and walls are painted white and decorated with ceramic tiles and colorful woven rugs.

Hispanic muralists of the 1970s and '80s are heirs to the tradition of Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros. The landscapes of Porfiro Salinas, the self-portraits of Arraldo Roche, the religious figures of Felix A. Lopez, the animal sculptures of Felipe Archuleta, and the lithographs of Michael Ponce de Leon show these artists' involvement with the reality that has nourished them. *El Museo del Barrio* and the Museum of Contemporary Hispanic Art in New York have, along with other institutions, tried to promote the works of these and other Hispanic artists with the result that more and more museums and galleries are showing their work.

In the field of design, Oscar de la Renta, Caroline Herrera, and Adolfo have used Latin forms, colors, and styles in the world of high fashion.

Latin music comes from the same roots as literature and dramatic arts, architecture, and painting. Mexican *corridos*, popular in the Southwest, are an important part of the national folklore repertoire. And jazz, considered the principal American contribution to music, is indebted to Hispanic, Mexican, and Cuban elements.

Latin music is very popular today in the United States. Singers such as Ruben Blades, Celia Cruz, and Carlos Santana—not to mention Trini Lopez, Joan Baez, or Vikki Carr—as well as groups such as Los Lobos or the Miami Sound Machine, sell thousands of records and bring Latin rhythms and melodies into many Anglo-American homes.

Hispanic cuisine has also become widespread. Hispanic restaurants have multiplied, and supermarkets sell tortillas, jicamas, chirimoyas, yucas, and papayas. Restaurants offer Spanish *tapas* or Mexican hot sauces and Argentine chimichurri. In Texas, the combination of cuisines has resulted in "Tex-Mex" fare.

CONCLUSION

The 19 million Hispanics who live in the United States are beginning to be seen and to see themselves as a group having common characteristics and problems in spite of internal disparities. This group is principally an urban community that comes from rural areas. It is a young group without experience or training, and it is made up of large families and people who do heavy labor for low pay and live below the poverty line. Although there are always exceptions, most survive with difficulty and wait a long time before they see any progress.

Although Hispanics were politically marginal for many years, after the Second World War their political participation began to grow. They began to organize and fight to increase their political influence. Though their political influence still does not correspond to their numbers or their economic role, their progress is encouraging. They now have bilingual education and voting in Spanish. There are more municipal and state representatives, as well as some federal officals, and their numbers and influence are growing.

Those who reside in the barrios or in farm communities live in much the same way as their fathers did in their native countries. The family is the hub, and Spanish is the language. To a large extent, their folklore, art, drama, and literature reflect a non Anglo-American reality.

Because many Hispanics have not been assimilated—many are opposed to acculturation—their presence has left a mark on the national culture. Language has been modified, music has other rhythms, and food tastes different.

Studying the Hispanic experience in the United States—its problems and its successes, its history and its challenges—should make both the present and the future clearer. This study will aid the fight for equality and

The Latin Communities in the United States

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this brief presentation is to describe the Latin population in terms of its growth and heterogeneity and mention the social and political implications of their meaning to the Western Hemisphere.

The Latin population in the United States is very complex, and many common elements among the different groups can be observed as well as the abundance of diversities. Thus to understand the development of the Latin communities it is essential to know their similarities and differences.

When mentioning the distinctive demographic characteristics of the Latin population, the following five points should be included: youth, rapid growth, continuous immigration, use of the Spanish language, and heterogeneity.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LATIN POPULATION

Youth

The average age of Latins is almost eight years lower than the rest of the population in the United States (25.1 to 32.6 years respectively). There is almost no difference in the average age of the people of Mexican origin (23.5) and Puerto Ricans (24.3). In contrast, the average age of Cubans is 35.8, and that of Central and South Americans is 27.3. One can summarize that the prominent characteristic of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is that of youth, while overall, youth makes up a total of 75 percent of the Latin population in the United States. The difference in ages among the mentioned groups shows that 45 percent of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have not yet reached adult age; therefore it is a population of young families interested mainly in such activities as prenatal care, child care centers, bilingual education, delinquency due to drug addiction, illegitimate children, and job opportunities for young people. On the other hand, the majority of the Cuban and Latin American population is formed by older adults, so they are more interested in issues concerning real estate, rising taxes, abundance or scarcity of jobs, job training, adult education, professional careers, and retirement. It should be considered that there is a great difference between the young Mexican and Puerto Rican population and the older Latin American population and their difference consists in what each group views an essential priority for themselves.

The age factor is indicative of the potential growth expected in the next years. In the young Latin population, most of the women have not yet reached their peak fertility. Between the ages of 19 and 29 most of the fertile women have the greatest number of children.

At present 39 percent of Latin women younger than 18 years old are reaching their most prolific years. So, during the next 10 to 15 years an increase as never before will be seen in the Latin population. Statistics clearly show that, in general, Latin households are exemplified by big families with a greater number of children. Even though a small reduction in the fertility rate of Latin women is occurring (compared with the rest of the women in the United States), Latin women still have the highest rate of fertility among the racial/ethnic groups most numerous in the United States. Also, it is important to mention that Latin women who were born outside of the United States have the highest rate of fertility among all the Latin women.

Continuous Immigration

Immigration is a significant process that contributes to the distribution of the Latin population and results in continual population growth in this group. In the last 15 years an annual average of 70,000 immigrants from Latin America, Mexico, and other Hispanic countries have legally entered the United States. This does not include those born in Puerto Rico since this is a territory of the United States. Neither are included the great number of undocumented workers that come to the United States seeking jobs, some who remain for a long period of time, and others, for shorter periods.

Regarding the effects and consequences of the immigration, even among the Hispanic groups, there are differences of opinions and points of views. Since 1910, high numbers of immigrants of Mexican origin have entered the United States. It should be pointed out that there are clear indications that the migrating movement—to and from the United States—is higher than the actual number of immigrants that decide to remain in this country. With respect to the new immigration law, it is known that the total number of persons of Latin origin registered in the amnesty program is 450,000. In addition, the immigration phenomenon is made very controversial by the way the government is implementing the law.

Since the Spanish-American War, the Puerto Ricans have had free access to the United States, and thus many come to work in this country just for some time. This population movement from the Island to the continent is as common as moving from a suburb to the city.

Until the decade of the 1960s, after Castro ascended to power in Cuba, the number of Cubans that migrated to the United States was small. Since that date, the number has increased gradually. A very recently observed phenomenon in the immigration process is the immigration of a great variety of groups coming from different Latin American countries, such as political refugees, household workers, students, merchants and professionals.

The immigration of Mexicans has not decreased (although the immigration quota has changed and the law has been enforced). The diminishing Puerto Rican immigration is directly related to the deterioration of the metropolitan area of New York in the last few years. The Cuban immigration continues but is now much lower. On the other hand, the Latin American immigration is rapidly increasing.

Use of the Language

Recent information indicates that in the Hispanic population, in the United States, 10 percent speak only Spanish, 13 percent speak only English, 41 percent speak Spanish as their first language and English as the second language, and 36 percent speak English as the first language and Spanish as the second language. There are two considerations affecting the preceeding percentages: *age*—adult Hispanics tend to speak more Spanish; *place of birth*—those born outside the United States tend to speak more Spanish. There is little difference among the Latin groups in the use of Spanish on a daily basis. The greatest number of Hispanics that don't speak English at all is among the Cubans, followed by the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. As bilingual education is a new program in the North American educational system, the fact that 87 percent of the Latin people speak Spanish is a tribute to their struggle to maintain their native language, although they don't receive any type of encouragement and don't have any access to systematic education in Spanish beyond that received in the elementary school. The demand for the use of Spanish in all means of communication exists because the Latin people think that Spanish is a vital and socially functional language and it helps to solidify their group identity.

Heterogeneity

The term *Latin* and other similar terms such as *Hispanics* or *people of Spanish origin*, etc., are words that are too general in that in their use they include several and different sub-populations: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Central and South Americans. Each group has brought to the United States its own typical characteristics with regard to social and political organizations, customs, traditions, linguistic variations, as well as dreams and aspirations. Nevertheless, among these variations, all of the various groups have many common characteristics.

Table 1 shows some of the demographic differences among the Latin groups. In this brief summary we see that, in proportion, the Cubans have the least number of children under five years old. In addition, it can be observed that the majority of the Latin people live in metropolitan areas. However, it is also observed that the proportion of urban residents varies among the different groups, and there are more Puerto Ricans and Cubans than Mexicans in large metropolitan areas. The Mexicans have the lowest educational level compared with the other Latin groups. Cubans have the highest proportion of professional workers, and proportionally, the Mexican Americans have the least number. Cubans have the highest average income among the Hispanic families, and the Puerto Ricans have the lowest; consequently, the highest proportion of poor families is among Puerto Ricans.

When analyzing these facts, factors such as geography and residence have to be considered in order to compare the relative differences between these groups. As Cubans are better educated, they have increased possibilities for having higher paid jobs in the professional level. However, as Mexican Americans are less prepared, they seldom can be found in professional jobs. In spite of this, their total income is high in relation to their education, and, in addition, they live in nonmetropolitan areas where the cost of living is lower. Puerto Ricans also have a low educational level and the number of professionals is slightly higher than the Mexicans. Nevertheless, the average total income per family is too low, and considering the high cost of living in places such as New York, a large number of Puerto Ricans live below the poverty level established by the federal government.

TABLE I

Differences Among Hispanic Groups

Characteristics	Mexican-American	Puerto Rican	Cubans	Central and South Americans	No Hispanic
% less than 5 years	11.4	11.7	7.6	8.9	7.3
% persons over 65 years or more	4.2	3.6	12.1	2.8	12.3
% married	57.9	51.6	59.9	59.2	59.4
% in metropolitan areas	81.0	95.2	97.3	86.3	74.0
% with less than 5 years in school	15.4	10.3	6.0	6.1	1.8
% with 4 or more years in college	5.8	8.0	17.1	12.2	20.6
% of families with women as only parent with children	19.2	43.3	17.7	25.5	15.7
Persons in the family	4.1	3.5	3.2	3.7	3.1
% in the labor force	66.4	53.9	66.7	71.3	64.5
% of professional workers:					
Men	8.8	12.8	19.0	10.0	26.5
Women	13.0	15.4	25.4	11.6	25.5
Average income per family, 1986	$19,326	$14,584	$26,770	$22,246	$30,231
% of poor families	24.9	38.1	13.3	18.7	9.9

U.S. Bureau of the Census, The Hispanic Population in the United States: March 1986 and 1987 (Advance Report) Series p-20, No. 416, August 1987.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Recently, certain issues in the United States have attracted national attention to the Latin population. The legislative hearings related to bilingual education, right to vote, the amnesty program for undocumented workers, and even the debates on the American policy in Nicaragua have given Latins the opportunity to testify and express their opinions on these issues. In this manner, the necessity to acknowledge the opinion of Latin groups has been recognized. Because of their participation in these activities, Latins have had a great national impact. Latin groups agree on issues such as the importance of improvement of the educational system and the efforts to promote the right to vote, but they disagree on other issues. For example, Mexican-American leaders do not agree among themselves on their support of the amnesty program sponsored by the Immigration Department. In the same way, Puerto Ricans disagree on the political future of Puerto Rico, and some Cubans oppose the steps the United States government is taking to maintain diplomatic relations with the Cuban government.

A new and well-qualified group of Latins has emerged as a result of their active participation in these issues. These new leaders depend on the support and guidance given by the community and are conscious of their responsibility to the people.

Perhaps the most important fact is that in the Latin communities in the United States well-organized associations have emerged whose objective is to supervise the activities of public officials, and when necessary, take legal action. These associations or organizations have already succeeded in the improvement of roads, schools, parks, and in some cases, have participated in the election of Latin candidates for local government positions. The Latins are learning to speak collectively and are developing strategies with positive results. Although there is a slow movement in the political area, Latins have decided to recoup wasted time by moving, now, fast and effectively, in the political realm in the states as well as in the nation.

Latins in the United States have been excessively criticized for their lack of participation in national issues. Even though the criticism is in part justified, it should be taken into account that for the Latin people, the local problems are in fact more important than the national ones. In the first place, local problems are, certainly, more urgent; in the second place, these problems affect their lives directly; and in the third place, at the local level there are already organizations that work actively to correct the problems. On the other hand, the problems that bring together the Latin people are those that affect them directly in any community in the nation. For instance, bad housing conditions are a problem that unites the community and forces tenants to get organized, so they can demand improvements. There are associations that concentrate their efforts on the development and revitalization of the industrial and commercial areas. Latins have learned that they can have a permanent and effective impact in their community life, but only if they actively participate in those solid and well-established organizations.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the Latin groups are different from each other. There are differences in their age, percentage of births, geographic location, immigration history, and the use of the Spanish language. These factors should be taken into consideration in order to understand why, to this day, our national organizations have not yet deeply affected the North American society. Also, this explains the inability of the different groups to unite under one common name, one organization, and only one opinion with respect to these controversial issues.

Some cities in the central part of the country, such as Chicago and Milwaukee, are attracting Latins from the rest of the nation. In these places no Latin group is dominant or politically prominent. It is in places like these that the Latins will have to unite themselves to exercise their influence in the community. If we observe what is happening in different places, we could identify those problems that can unite the different Latin groups in the United States to struggle to attain common goals. Also, it will be interesting to discover if the different groups are willing to make concessions with respect to their culture, language, and social aspects.

The Hispanic coalition at a national level is inevitable if we realize the need to develop a well-defined Hispanic policy in domestic and international events. With our deep bonds with Latin America, all the Hispanics should participate more actively in everything concerning the Latins in the United States. Only a climate of respect and mutual cooperation will permit a greater unifying of all the Hispanic groups, in Latin America as well as in the United States.

Puerto Rico in the Ibero-American Heritage Project

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INTRODUCTION

Migration from Puerto Rico to the United States accelerated after the end of World War II and the establishment of the Free Associated States in 1952; about 565,000 people left the Island in the two decades that followed.[1] Most migrants were young and had a low level of education. Migration to the United States had become possible through the Jones Act of 1917. Representing a substantial step toward home rule, the Jones Act established a bill of rights that included all the guarantees of the United States Constitution, expanded local government, and extended citizenship to all Puerto Ricans who desired it.

Recent studies, however, have traced massive migration back to 1900, when the first emigration to Hawaii took place.

> This displacement served as a successful rehearsal of the capacity for mobility of the Puerto Rican labor. At the same time [they] revealed the mechanism of the Puerto Rican migratory process within the control of North American capital (Documents of the Puerto Rican Migration, CUNY, p. 5).

Among the first documented evidence of Puerto Ricans in the United States is a *San Francisco Chronicle* article reporting on deserters from a New Orleans-to-San Francisco labor train who escaped in December 1900 in Pomona. Another group of approximately 40 individuals, who had also been on this train, refused to board a Hawaii-bound ship and were deposited on the San Francisco wharf. Some stayed in San Francisco, but most found employment, primarily as domestics, in Alameda and Santa Clara counties (*Puerto Ricans in California*, United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1980, p. 5).

Between 1975 and 1979, a change took place: more Puerto Ricans returned to their country than left. Estimates based on the air traffic of the island showed that 40,000 more people returned than left.[2] Changes have occurred in New York City's economic system, in which there has been a shift from competitive capital to monopoly capital. This shift has brought about changes in production forces as well as the expansion of automation and has produced a need for workers with higher qualifications. Such a need has resulted in Puerto Rican migrants becoming unemployed or underemployed for long periods of time.[3] At the same time, there has been a transformation in the economy of Puerto Rico, where there is an emphasis on construction and the development of the tourist industry. This transformation has resulted in a reverse flow of migration, with more people returning than leaving.

The type of migrant today also has changed: the average migrant is better educated. This fact suggests the possibility of a flight of educated persons out of the country,[4] or brain drain.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ON PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION

This change in the movement of people has led to the development in Puerto Rico and the United States of a new theoretical perspective based on historical materialism, whereby "return migration" is part of a continual circulation of workers in search of income in exchange for work (Center of Puerto Rican Studies, *Labor Migration under Capitalism*, 1979).

Refuting the explanations of traditional sociologists that migrants exercised their "free choice motivated by a betterment," Lopez and Petras (1974, p. 319) pointed out

[1] Planning Council of Puerto Rico, Bureau of Statistics, January 1987.

[2] These estimates are not reliable, but they are the only ones in existence.

[3] Clara E. Rodríguez, "Economic Factors Affecting Puerto Ricans in New York," in *Labor Migration under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

[4] This is based on newspaper reports, but has not been subject to empirical study. (See Olga Carrasco, "Alarming Exodus of Puerto Rican Talent," *El Nuevo Día*, April 20, 1986.)

the opposite by referring to the efforts of the colonial government to channel "surplus" population out of Puerto Rico in the post-World War II period. Lopez and Petras also referred to the demands of United States corporate interest on the mainland for cheap labor—especially in the so-called "service" sector, agriculture, and highly competitive industries such as the garment industry—as a factor for Puerto Rican migration.

Whether or not the immigrants have the effect of maintaining competition in employment or are concentrated in those sectors of production that are the lowest paying, least skilled, most irregular, and less desirable (as stated by Petras 1980, p. 441), the end result is the same for capital: the extraction of surplus value from these workers. While it is recognized that labor transfers do indeed reinforce and amplify the capital accumulation process, it is also true that capital is equally eager to have migration reversed during periods of capital contraction. That is the reason why the massive migration of Puerto Ricans in the decade of the '50s filled the gaps in production during a period of capitalist expansion in the United States and has now resulted in reverse migration, due to a period of capital contraction during the late '70s. Ironically, the transfer of Puerto Rican workers to the metropolis, which was accompanied by high capital investment in the "colony" and was praised as a model of development, has now resulted in a model of dependency.[5]

Another theoretician, Maldonado-Denis (1980, p. 13) explains it in the following terms:

> The deepening structural crisis that the United States monopoly capital is now suffering has had such a profound and powerful impact on Puerto Rican social formation that our people appear to be sinking more and more into abject dependency.... Almost fifty percent of the Puerto Rican labor force finds itself outside of the productive process.... The situation of the Puerto Rican community in the United States offers an equally desolate picture....This has brought about a considerable increase in number of Puerto Ricans who have chosen to return to the national territory during the last five years.

These return flows point to the complexity of the social development of labor at the international level. It is a phenomenon that is being repeated in Western Europe as well as in the United States (ICM seminar, "Economic and Social Aspects of Voluntary Return Migration," 1986).

Two subprocesses are recognized by CENTRO scholars in this circulation of labor power in search of employment as a field of exchange (1979, pp. 51-57): (1) the return migration of those who defy social absorption into the new international division of labor, and (2) the labor force's independence from the control of capital and the capitalist class as a result of its mobility. Thus, on the one hand, the ones who defy social absorption create social "problems" in both the sending and the receiving countries, one often losing a sector of the work force most needed within its development plans and the other failing to use the workers productively (e.g., migration of industrial workers from Puerto Rico in the 1940s and 1950s and service workers, teachers, and nurses in the 1980s). On the other hand, the labor force's independence from the control of capital generates an uncontrollable process of circulation of unskilled, marginalized workers in search of employment.

In sum, the approach of viewing "overpopulation" as relative to the mode of production prevailing in a given society, at a particular historical moment, and, consequently, of viewing migration as a circulation process in search of employment in the circuit colony-metropolis, seems to be a fruitful analytical framework in the study of the characteristics of the "returnees." The use of the concept *working class* also seems appropriate in observing social and cultural differences among members of a given minority group. This theoretical approach suggests that similarities as well as differences can be expected when comparing members of the working class in Puerto Rico with those of the United States.

The Malthusian and Assimilation Approach

The Malthusian Approach. According to researchers within this perspective, the main cause of Puerto Rican migration is the disparity between population growth and development in the sending country; they treat "overpopulation" of the island as an absolute notion. Following Malthus's precepts, they all view overpopulation as being universal and alike in all different stages of economic development. Under the fatalist assumption of an ever-increasing population and the lack of resources to support it, an "external stopper" (like migration) is thus necessary to end the natural increase of humanity.

However, in this analysis, the conditions of underdevelopment are not tied to a particular mode of production that may create and expand the gap between population and employment opportunities.

The Assimilation Approach. Essentially, the assimilation approach stresses the "selective characteristics" and "motivations for the move" of the migrants within a

[5] José Joaquín Villamil, "Puerto Rico 1948-79: The Limits of Dependent Growth," in *Time for Decision: The United States and Puerto Rico*, ed. Jorge Heine (Lanham, MD: North-South Publishing Co., 1983).

comparative approach with the ones remaining at home and the population of the host society. Thus, the causes of emigration are seen in terms of "push and pull" factors affecting the motivations of migrants. In this view, the Puerto Ricans are seen as "newcomers" in the process of incorporation of minorities into United States society, properly motivated toward assimilation (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963, p. 62; Fitzpatrick, 1971: p. 45). Assumptions are also made in the migrants' biographies of the "superiority" of the migrants (Senior, 1947), and that "integration" and "assimilation" will likely take place within a generation or two (Gordon, 1964; *The International Migration Review*, 1968).

It is proposed, then, that first-generation Puerto Ricans formed small islands, or *colonias*, in the city, perpetuated their culture, and were socially isolated (Hernández-Alvarez, 1967; Lewis, 1966). Meanwhile, second-generation Puerto Ricans tended to occupy residential areas outside the *colonia* (evolution of the diaspora); they assimilated the ways of life of the larger society, and differences tended to disappear.

Kantrowitz (1968, pp. 53-72) found that the children of Puerto Rican migrants were "upwardly mobile," since they had attained "some high school education," "some white-collar jobs," and "some higher incomes" than the first generation.

In order to assess the direction of change between first- and second-generation Puerto Ricans, Macisco (1968, pp. 21-39) used 1960 census data to compare them along the following dimensions: education, labor force status, income, occupation, age at first marriage, percent of out-group marriage, and fertility. Overall, he found that second-generation Puerto Ricans "have higher levels of schooling, are less likely to be unemployed, have higher incomes, are employed in higher status occupations, marry earlier, tend to marry non-Puerto Ricans in greater proportions and have fewer children than first-generation Puerto Ricans." He concluded that "second-generation Puerto Ricans are moving toward total United States averages" (1968, p. 39).

The fact that only a small minority of New York's Puerto Ricans were involved in this trend toward "upward mobility" and "assimilation" and that a gross majority of Puerto Rican migrants and their children are still poor and reside in slum areas, as indicated by research done by the Puerto Rican Forum (1964) and Sexton (1965), does not seem to have had an impact upon these researchers. Nor have these researchers been influenced by the group differences among Puerto Ricans that Padila pointed out (1958, pp. 44-81): that only a small group of migrants are native speakers of English and are oriented toward American society; that another group are native speakers of Spanish and are oriented toward the Puerto Rican society; and that still a larger intermediate group has made cultural adaptations within the larger culture but has kept its values within the traditional culture.

The results of these previous studies on assimilation led Rodriguez (1975) to the conclusion that the following question has yet to be adequately dealt with: "That is, no one has asked the Puerto Ricans about their views on assimilation" (1975, p. 66).

In focusing on Puerto Rican attitudes toward the basic question involved in assimilation, that is, the desirability, feasibility, and costs of attempting to assimilate, Rodriguez found that:

> It appears that Puerto Ricans do perceive the American society to be ethnically stratified and felt it should not be this way. Thus, they may perceive that their expected gains in assimilating may not be as great as the egalitarian ideology and melting pot rhetoric would lead to believe. In addition, Puerto Ricans also perceive their own position as "at the bottom" and feel institutions do not treat them fairly. Thus, the feasibility of "making it" does not seem to be very great. Lastly there appear to be available alternatives to assimilating, i.e. going back to Puerto Rico and biculturation (1975, p. 75).

Migration, then, is a natural and convenient alternative for relieving overpopulation pressures. The individual migrant, propelled by personal motivations, moves to escape poverty and underdevelopment. Once in the new setting, assimilation is the other natural course.

Explanations about Return Migration. The emphasis placed upon assimilation makes it difficult to explain return migration. Therefore, the traditional explanation echoed Ravenstein's rationale that "each current of migration produces a compensating counter-current" (1885, p. 199).

In this respect, Chenault (1938, p. 55) refers to return migration as a decision made on a "temporary basis" at "the time of economic depression and recession" or as a decision conveying a failure at integration. Two main themes are recurrent in the treatment of this topic: the possibility that the returnees may be the "colored" Puerto Ricans (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963, p. 93, 133; C. W. Mills, et al., 1950, p. 49), and/or the idea that the return may be prompted by family considerations, an idea stressing the strong character of the Puerto Rican extended family and the proximity of the island (Fitzpatrick, 1971, p. 179).

In neglecting what is particular to a migration, since migration is not seen as a historical product, the returnees are explained in terms of their inadequacy as individuals. The returnees are the ones who have failed

to find a job or keep it, who have failed to adapt to the new environment, and who succumb to the emotional stress of being separated from their families.

THE CIRCULATION OF PUERTO RICAN WORKERS

In my research in the United States and Puerto Rico, I wanted to discover the qualitative differences in the movement of population in relation to the means of production and migration. I used the life history method. These studies have made it possible to gather a wealth of information of a qualitative nature, which increases knowledge of the impact of those who return to Puerto Rico and their adaptation process.

The data presented in my study "A Perspective on Return Migration: The Circulation of Puerto Rican Workers" (1982)[6] demonstrated that a significant 41 percent of the sample showed circulation from Puerto Rico to the United States and back to Puerto Rico and then back to the United States, while 23 percent showed interstate circulation. But the picture of circulation is incomplete if the prospective circulants are not taken into account. These prospective circulants are those who have given thought to going back to Puerto Rico in the near future or at a later date. This return is one that is visualized as definitive by most of the migrants; but, except in the case of the retired or those living on a pension, its becoming a reality depends on their savings and the working opportunities offered by the labor market in Puerto Rico, or a combination of both.

An important finding was that 54 of the 86 people in one group (classified as first generation), or 62.8 percent, expressed thoughts of returning in the near future, 15 of them within a year and three of them within one to five years. In an additional group of eight, 57.1 percent of those classified as of Puerto Rican parentage also expressed thoughts of making Puerto Rico their place of residence at a later date.

When those with plans to return to Puerto Rico in the near future or at a later date (excluding the retired) were asked if they would consider returning to New York or to any other state in case they did not find a job in Puerto Rico, 19 persons, or 55.9 percent, said they would consider a definitive return to New York, while an additional four persons, or 11.8 percent, would consider returning to another state.

While quantitative data will be used as a frame of reference for analysis, in this section a tape of the respondents' expectations and perceptions should prove useful.

[6] Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University.

Return in a Short Period of Time

A group of 20, or 23.3 percent, of those born in Puerto Rico, and one, or 7.1 percent, of those born in the United States of Puerto Rican parentage expressed plans to return in the relatively near future of less than 10 years (15 of them within a year).

When asked if they had thought about going back to Puerto Rico to stay, their answers were varied.

> Yes, I live in fear here. We are planning to go back next year (Interview No. 009).
>
> Yes, I am leaving in October of this year...I like the way of living in Puerto Rico. I want my children to be raised there (Interview No. 10).
>
> Yes, because I have a sick mother (in Puerto Rico) I expected it to be soon (Interview No. 014).
>
> Yes, I applied for an apartment in a *caserío* (public housing) and a *parcela* (lot of land). Right now I am on the list for a *parcela* (Interview No. 039).
>
> Yes, once I put the apartment for sale, but I changed my mind when I got a new job...Life here is not satisfying.
>
> Yes, if I lose my job, I'll move tomorrow (Interview No. 059).
>
> My wife and I want to spend the last days of our lives there. We have been mugged three times and life is not safe in the United States anymore (Interview No. 069).
>
> Yes, the main reason is to be near my family. I am going to take care of my (sick) mother (Interview No. 089).

A significant group of 11, or 12.8 percent, of the first-generation Puerto Ricans in the sample revealed they had plans to return upon retirement; most were of near-retirement age.

> Yes, when I retire next year...I went to the Social Security office and asked all the necessary questions to receive my Social Security benefits in Puerto Rico. I will reunite with my husband, who lives there since 1968. Our separation was rough, but that is the way life is. I wanted to marry all my children and leave them settle when I left (Interview No. 082).

A good number (20 percent) of those born in Puerto Rico who expressed plans to return do not see their plans fulfilled in the near future, since they do not possess the means to do so, or have other obstacles to their fulfillment.

> Yes, those are my dreams, to return. But unless I hit the numbers, I find it impossible (Interview No. 012).

Yes, my mother is there and I will like to live close to her...but I have no means (Interview No. 016).

Yes, I am going back as soon as my second daughter gets married (Interview No. 042).

Yes, as soon as I finish my degree (B.A.)...My husband is not Puerto Rican, but we both want to go there. He is an industrial mechanic and, through connections, it will be easy for him to get a job there. (He covers Puerto Rico now, selling machine parts) (Interview No. 030).

Of the eight people born in the United States of Puerto Rican parentage who revealed plans of settling in Puerto Rico in the future, one, or 7.1 percent, is expecting to do so within a period of 10 years or less; three, 21.4 percent, upon completion of their studies; one, 7.1 percent, upon retirement; and three, 21.4 percent, expressed "other" alternatives.

Yes, when I finish my education and have some work experience that I can transfer to Puerto Rico (Interview No. 027).

At the termination of my career, I will go back to stay. Life is different there. I can appreciate the tranquility and slower pace of everything (Interview No. 029).

Yes, I owned a lot of land there. Financially, I am not ready yet. Probably on retirement (Interview No. 098).

Yes, when I finish my career. It is a better way of living than in the United States (Interview No. 038).

I would like to, if I get a job and license (as an architect) there. That will be in six or seven years (at the termination of his studies) (Interview No. 095).

In both classifications, first and second generation, a good number of respondents (20) said that they had property in Puerto Rico; seven reported having a house (on many occasions built throughout the years little by little), while 13 reported having a lot of land. Many of the latter are planning to build a house in the future.

The respondents who considered returning, either to New York City or another state, in case they did not find a job in Puerto Rico, view the situation as follows:

Of course not, only to New York City. I don't see myself living in another state. There are more of us here and can make some progress as a community (Interview No. 084).

Yes, I will return to New York, especially since I am tenured within the City system (Interview No. 094).

Yes, as it is happening now. I applied for some jobs (in Puerto Rico) and my applications are being evaluated. In the meantime, I came back here (New York) (Interview No. 065).

I will try to return to Washington; some of my brothers and sisters are still living in Washington; they stayed there (Interview No. 062).

No, I will return to California. Some friends of mine live there. I will write them and ask for help (Interview No. 059).

Probably against my will (Interview No. 013).

Past Circulation Experience

Of the 62 people who have given thought to returning to Puerto Rico or of going to the island to live (54 first-generation and eight of Puerto Rican parentage), 36 had no previous circulation experience. Twenty-six people (25 first-generation and one of Puerto Rican parentage) demonstrated circulation experience between Puerto Rico and the United States. Of those, 23 persons had made one trip back and forth, and three had made two trips back and forth. A group of 16 also demonstrated interstate circulation.

No Return Plans to Puerto Rico

A group of 26 first-generation Puerto Ricans and six of Puerto Rican parentage claimed they had given no thought to returning to Puerto Rico or of going to the Island to live. When those who were holding a job were asked if their plans would change if they were laid off, three of them revealed the possibility of circulation, one back to Puerto Rico and two to a different state. One was hesitant and three expressed "other" reasons.

It can also be observed that 12 of this group, nine first-generation and three of Puerto Rican parentage, revealed past circulation experience between the United States and Puerto Rico. That circulation involved one trip back and forth for nine of them and two trips back and forth for three of them. An additional group of eight also demonstrated past circulation.

Once (I thought of going back to Puerto Rico to stay), but I changed my mind. I got a good job, and it is my turn to be given a permanent job. (He works in maintenance, covering for those on vacation.) I don't think I'll be laid off. In my case, I'll consider returning to Puerto Rico, yes (Interview No. 077).

No, I haven't thought of going back to Puerto Rico to stay. I tried it once and came back. I may consider another state (Interview No. 003).

No, I haven't thought of going back to Puerto Rico to stay. My wife would like to go back, but not me. I am a permanent employee now (Interview No. 070).

> Right now no. Things are difficult there. There are no jobs available. People are on food stamps (Interview No. 015).
>
> No, I would like to try this country. Life is extremely difficult there (in Puerto Rico) (Interview No. 025).
>
> No, I have never been there. I will go to Florida or another state (Interview No. 029).
>
> No...I have medical treatment for life here. I haven't given any consideration to moving to another state (Interview No. 017).
>
> No, this is the country of the handicapped! Here I get the best treatment and therapy. Where can I get that in Puerto Rico? (Interview No. 078).

In an attempt to understand better the possible impact that holding a job might have had upon plans or decisions to return, I compared one group with the other along the variable of occupation. This comparison revealed that 15 interviewees, or 46.8 percent, of the ones who had given no thought of returning to Puerto Rico or of going to the island to live (the case of those born in the United States), were holding a job. In contrast, 28 interviewees, or 43.5 percent, had thought of returning.

The difference between those holding a job and planning to return and those holding a job and not planning to return is not so significant (3.3 percent more were in favor of the latter). More revealing is the global difference of other characteristics involving aspects of the material conditions and the reasons and rationalizations stated by the interviewees.

The migrant-circulants themselves explained those differences: a higher percentage of the unemployed had given no thought to going back to Puerto Rico because here they felt they could get "a better job faster." The same applied to the disabled and the retirees because of "better health services" and other services in general. The welfare recipients wanting to return to Puerto Rico are the ones who expressed not knowing when it was going to happen.

> I migrated because of the lack of jobs in Villalba... I would like to have the means to go back to Puerto Rico, but I am trapped with Welfare in the United States (Interview No. 049).

This female from Villalba originally migrated to Newark, New Jersey, in 1962 and to New York City in 1966. She worked as an operator in New York for ten years and was laid off twice. The last layoff coincided with her separation from her husband. Since then, she has been at home with her four children.

> I would like to live in Puerto Rico. I don't like the United States anymore. I am tired of winter and living conditions; but I depend on Welfare (Interview No. 052).

This woman has been on welfare since 1966, after being laid off from her job as an operator in the garment industry. She now takes care of her three children, while living in consensual union with a man. She will go back to Puerto Rico if he takes her, since he has definite plans to return.

> Yes, I would like to go back to Puerto Rico, but I have no place to stay there... I will go back some day to be near my family (Interview No. 048).

This woman has been on welfare since her husband abandoned her in 1974. Her work history is one of menial jobs.

Perceptions about Puerto Rican Society

Puerto Rican migrant-circulants living in New York City can keep themselves informed about island affairs by several means, including written communication with relatives, conferences focusing on a wide variety of Puerto Rican topics, and the media. There are two major newspapers in New York written in Spanish, *El Diario-La Prensa* and *Noticias del Mundo*. *El Mundo*, *El Vocero*, *El Imperial*, and *El Nuevo Dia* are received daily from Puerto Rico by air cargo. In addition, there are innumerable magazines and newsletters published in Spanish in New York City.

There are also two major television channels, Channels 41 and 47, as well as two radio stations, WJIT and WADO, whose programming is in Spanish.

In fact, 58 people, or 58 percent of the sample, revealed being informed of Puerto Rican politics, most by means of the media (44 people), and the rest by conversations (eight people), correspondence (three people), and other means (three people). While 24 people, or 58.5 percent, of the 41 who said they were uninformed revealed not being concerned about Puerto Rican affairs, only eight people, or 19.5 percent, considered Puerto Rican affairs not to be part of their immediate reality.

The previous data enlarge on some aspects of Zell's 1972 findings about returnees and their role in the Puerto Rican labor market, particularly their effect upon the structure of unemployment. He found that the occupational distribution of the return migrants is essentially identical to that of nonmigrants (1972, p. 157). However, compared with the nonmigrants, the returnees significantly raise the unemployment rate of the island, show a larger period of unemployment and greater job instability (1972, pp. 180-183). He also found that when the returnees are classified by year of last return to Puerto Rico, their unemployment rates are found to decrease considerably, in accordance with the length of time since their return. His findings pointed to the fact that the

returnees show no sign of superiority over those who never migrated, indicating a different trend than that assumed by Senior (1974) and studied by Hernandez-Alvarez (1967).

Zell's conclusions seem to shed some light on the problem that return migration represents for local planners and politicians on the island. He stated:

> Because of their high rates of unemployment, return migrants significantly raise the overall rate of unemployment in Puerto Rico over what it would be were non-migrants counted (1972, pp. 225-241).

But while Zell and the Puerto Rico Planning Board (1973) suggest that those workers who return do so with a negative attitude toward the job market which eventually leads to a dangerous "instability of labor," my data suggest that it is the Island labor system that fails to absorb the returnees into the productive process within a reasonable period of time. Seventeen returnees out of 41 in the sample were unable to obtain a job on the Island and came back to the United States within a period of six months to a year. Only nine people were able to find a job in Puerto Rico (mostly in agriculture, on small family farms), and one person was a transferee within the postal system. Their living conditions upon return to the United States were slightly better, since 21 persons were able to find means of support, although for a transitory period of time. These findings give the problem a political perspective, namely, the right to return to your own country and to reunite with your family. Instead, the returnees are confronted with an inadequate labor system that is unable to absorb them.

These conditions also help one to understand the private and official effort in Puerto Rico to keep the migrants abroad permanently. The media in the United States, as well as in Puerto Rico, tried to create an atmosphere of fear and insecurity among those planning to return with sporadic accounts of island crises and misfortune. But these efforts by the media and official planners seem to have had little effect on the migrants, as evidenced by their prospective return plans: 62.8 percent so indicated in this sample.

Circulating Families in Southwest Puerto Rico

In my study "Reintegration of Circulating Families in Southwestern Puerto Rico"[7] I intended to explore the circulatory movement of Puerto Rican families, elements which influence the process of adaptation when returning to Puerto Rico, and aspects of cultural identity. The analysis emphasizes the circulators' points of view, in which the quality of information stands out, and it gives special attention to second-generation migrants.

The data for this study was collected by means of two research instruments that were administered to the respondents simultaneously: a life-history matrix and an open-ended questionnaire. The interview time ranged from 45 to 60 minutes, with extreme cases that lasted over 60 minutes. The circulators' families were selected on the basis of having lived in the United States for at least a six-month to one-year period, or, of having been born there of Puerto Rican parents and coming to the island to reside.

The sample was drawn selectively by using a segmented or segregated technique for assuring a cross-section of individuals from diverse groups: recent returnees, second-generation Puerto Ricans (born in the United States), and students.

The circulation process was significantly illustrated by the frequency of round trips, which involved settlement in certain areas of the United States, on one or more occasions, and subsequent return to Puerto Rico to resettle. The economic cost involved in these trips was exceeded only by the psychological cost involved in breaking up and reuniting with loved ones.

The circulatory aspect of this "labor reserve army" was evidenced when the circulators were asked in the interview if they would return to the United States if unemployed and unable to find a similar or better job. Sixty-eight percent answered that they would return and resettle in the United States, whereas 12 percent said they were doubtful, and, finally, 20 percent did not plan a new migration. A great majority would go to live in cities or states having a large Hispanic concentration, such as New York, Chicago, California, and Massachusetts. But many others associate their return to the United States with the quality of life lived in Puerto Rico and would prefer to settle in areas away from Hispanic or black concentrations, although they cannot define these areas.

Adaptation Process

In this section the data obtained has been summarized and organized by areas. These interviews outline the principal problems of adaptation as mentioned by the circulating migrants. Among these problems, the most difficult to adjust to were economic and employment (58 percent), followed by social acceptance (23 percent), education (17 percent), and language (15 percent). Transportation, medical services, and recreational facilities were also problems mentioned as being significant.

The following are concrete cases of the most mentioned problems of adaptation, economic and employment:

> In order for me to find a job I had to use political

[7] Published in the *International Migration Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (June 1986), Geneva, Switzerland.

influences for recommendation purposes, because I was not successful on my own (Interview No. 012).

When I went to look for a job... I had to adjust to the way it is done here, since I had been away for a long time... it required a higher production in a shortest period of time (Interview No. 020).

I have not been able to find a job because I have no credentials, like a high school diploma—that was the main handicap (Interview No. 045).

At first, I was not able to adjust myself to not finding a job. Then I found one through A.D.T. (Administration Derecho al Trabajo), was trained and got a job (Interview No. 017).

The following informants feel that they are being discriminated against in their country of origin, and they usually express their complaint with regret and bitterness. Their situation was presented as follows:

Because I am a veteran and have an academic background they consider me as being overqualified. I believe there is prejudice and they make me feel no longer useful—as if I were out of my country, they now make me feel unnecessary (Interview No. 028).

In the United States we are not seen as North Americans and here we are not considered Puerto Ricans; we are rejected by both groups (Interview No. 07).

Other informants mentioned the following:

The government does not give an opportunity to any one. Here everything is based on political influences (Interview No. 014).

The language, employment, transportation, government system, and education...all function differently compared to the United States and we must adjust to them...even though here the migrant is treated unfairly when returning (Interview No. 047).

Examples of prejudice are given in detail when interviewees were asked about their own experience of adaptation. They expressed the following:

When I returned I was a small child, but I remember I had no friends because I was not able to speak Spanish...at school I was called "gringa apestosa"...but then everything went well (Interview No. 039).

I have been accepted... but in school "niuyoricans" were not wanted (Interview No. 053).

My own experience has been one of repulse. After a certain period of time you are accepted (Interview No. 07).

The teachers in school were prejudiced against me. One teacher asked me who were the first settlers in Puerto Rico...and since I didn't know what was meant by "settlers," the teacher made fun of me by contemptuously saying "niuyorican"...and continued calling me that (Interview No. 06).

I have had problems with my education and the way in which people treat us...like ignoring you (Interview No. 050).

In this last interview, the person was born in the United States and returned with his family of origin a year ago. He testified that the main complaint of second-generation Puerto Ricans is socializing in the new environment.

The language barrier is expressed by the interviewees as follows:

My experience was that I didn't know Spanish and was embarrassed several times at school...I always answered with a "yes," "yes," "yes" without knowing what I was asked (Interview No. 05).

I didn't know Spanish when I returned, but was able to understand a little...but had problems in adapting. I still have some difficulties in writing. I don't know the grammatical rules in Spanish... (Interview No. 03).

My first problem was the language. I had to keep away from long conversations. People would laugh at me. I had to overcome this...reading in Spanish was of great help (Interview No. 025).

A young man of the second generation who at the age of 20 has settled in the United States and Puerto Rico on three different occasions, with intervals of one to three years, gives a summary of how this group felt.

I enjoy the climate very much, but sometimes I don't understand the people or the teachers. Sometimes my cousins confuse me when they talk and would make fun of me. Dating girls here is difficult—I get tongue-twisted and they would make fun of me (Interview No. 048).

Education, one of the areas which deserves to be studied, is highly valued by the migrant-circulators. They consider it the most efficient means to obtain social mobility or a good job. The back-and-forth movement and settling in a new social environment mean, in many cases, a loss of time or a delay in school progress due to the fact that it was not possible to register on time, or it may mean repeating a grade. Some of their comments were as follows:

School (in the United States) was an experience of fright for me. (This was because I was attending a

predominantly black school) (Interview No. 016).

> I returned to Puerto Rico in October and was not able to register... even though I sent in my transcript. I was told that it was misplaced and finally, after some time, it was found and I was able to attend HEP (High School Equivalency Program) (Interview No. 058).

> It has been difficult for me to adapt in school. I was not able to obtain a high school diploma because of migrating. I wish to finish HEP, to see if I can go to college and give my children a better means of life (Interview No. 049).

> I have been accepted, but in school "niuyoricans" were not wanted (Interview No. 053).

The Planning and Development Center under the Public Instruction Department of Puerto Rico is aware of the inflows of second-generation migrants. Its curriculum is under review in order to make adjustments according to the migrants' particular needs when returning; it is also conscious of the impact involved and the conflicts that follow when there are students with different cultural standards in the same school. For this reason bilingual programs have been created in those districts where there is a high percentage of circulating migrants. The districts are Mayagüez and Ponce in the southwest region, with 20 and 15 percent of its total registration, respectively. Some universities have also developed programs in order to offer preparatory courses to students who have finished ninth grade and wish to take the high school equivalency test; such programs would allow them to obtain a high school diploma without attending school. Twenty-seven percent of persons interviewed in this study have benefited from or are taking these preparatory courses, since they were not able to return to school. Many of them are second-generation Puerto Ricans.

The migrants who have returned also expressed their discontent with the public transportation system in the southwest area. This system operates only during normal working hours and thus prevents many people from attending educational and cultural centers during evening hours and on weekends. Public transportation is limited because the area is semi-rural and private vehicles are therefore needed.

Another important element mentioned by the migrants is the lack of resources and medical facilities in the area. Five percent consider returning to the United States, where health services are better, because of their health problems and poverty.

Finally, the migrants interviewed mentioned the lack of recreational facilities, or the differences existing in recreational resources.

> My experience has been that I am not able to find good transportation facilities, especially during the evening, or places to visit with my family for eating and entertainment purposes (Interview No. 051).

> Talking about teenagers, I believe that they are doing the same as in the United States: hanging around, jobless, using drugs—marijuana—and lots of liberation (Interview No. 057).

> Adapting for me has been a drastic change compared to the entertainment and the use of leisure time. In the United States we used to visit the movies, go dancing and would enjoy ourselves with table games; here, here is a lack of these facilities. In Penuelas there is no theater or clubs for young people. Here all you see are nightclubs and billiard rooms (Interview No. 022).

Cultural Identity

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico's policy in relation to migration allegedly neither favors nor opposes migration. Nevertheless, there is evidence of certain efforts to discourage the return of migrants to Puerto Rico.

As mentioned before, the communications media in the United States, as well as in Puerto Rico have aroused fear and uncertainty in those who plan to return, by relating economic crisis and misery on the Island. But these communication efforts have had no effect upon the migrants, as the return flow has demonstrated.

Efforts on the part of some American sociologists to support empirically the assimilation of the Puerto Ricans, by using the ethnic model of European migration, also seem to have been unsuccessful. The reality is that the circulatory migrant reaffirms his cultural identity predominantly through his family ties and by maintaining such traditional values as the preeminence of the family group over the individual. From there, his constant circulation seems to be a pattern among circulatory families for several generations.

It is true that migrants have experienced some degree of adaptation to American culture, but there is no doubt that when returning they reaffirm their Puerto Rican cultural identity. Eighty-nine percent of circulating migrants born in Puerto Rico identify culturally with Puerto Rico, especially in the general categories of customs, music, and food. Eighty-seven percent of circulating migrants born in the United States also identify completely or partially with Puerto Rican habits, such as those pertaining to music and/or food. Other categories in which migrants identify with Puerto Rican ideas were art, history, literature, family upbringing, modesty and reserve of women, and sociability of the Puerto Ricans.

Some of these migrants related their contact with American society as follows:

> All my progress and improvement was obtained in Puerto Rico. In the United States I became alienated at all times. I found myself between two worlds. I used to come out of school to return to the ghetto where I lived—isolated. In front of my house, separated by an avenue, there was a museum with a beautiful meadow, but we were not able to enjoy this because it was guarded at all times and police would make us feel like intruders (Interview No. 015).
>
> I don't like life there, nor drugs. Four times I was assaulted by drug addicts. No, I don't want to know anything about that place where you cannot enjoy the good things of life. That is why I returned with my daughter to raise and educate her according to our beliefs (Interview No. 033).
>
> I lived in a nice town, but it became a place of drugs and prostitution. I returned to educate my children in a sound environment (Interview No. 047).

It is expected that a great majority of these migrant laborers will move to immigrant, residential locations in large American cities. According to David Ward, the settlement of newly-arrived immigrants on the margins of the cultural business district has long been closely associated with the blighting effects of commercial encroachment into adjacent residential districts. The uncertain timing and quality of future commercial developments have encouraged the neglect of existing property and the departure of more prosperous members. Once abandoned by their original populations, central residential districts were most frequently adopted by low-income immigrants, and the deterioration of the physical quality of the dwellings was presumed to encourage the social disorganization of the new residents (Ward, 1984, p. 458).

It is expected that these migrants will have certain values conflicts by living in urban ghettos, where the cultural values and lifestyle perceived in school and in mass communication conflict with the subcultural values of the ghetto in which they live. The tendency is to idealize the autochthonous identity and culture of which they feel a part and to aspire in the future to have a place in the country of origin.

Further, the minorities develop fears and distrust when they find themselves competing for the same resources. Wirth (1945, p. 353) pointed out ways in which the dominant group maintains its control of minorities by playing one minority against another. As is the case of the Puerto Ricans living in the urban ghettos of New York or Chicago, some idioms and values of the black subculture are internalized, but fear and mistrust keep the Puerto Ricans and blacks apart.

Those idioms and values internalized in the urban ghettos, by those in contact with blacks, are easily identified with by those who return and could be the cause of conflict in the new environment. "Nuoricans" are easily distinguished by their way of dressing and communicating. Here are their comments:

> I can tell a "Neorican" by his facial expression and aggressiveness (Interview No. 028).
>
> By the expression and way of moving their hands (Interview No. 033).
>
> By the way they walk... (Interview No. 059).
>
> Because they are consumerists (Interview No. 05).
>
> By the way they talk—broken Spanish—you know (Interview No. 048).

Many of the interviewees who made these comments identify with these "Neorians"; they wear winter hats, use prominent objects and ornaments in their clothing, carry huge portable radios, and wear fashionable or avant-garde clothing.

CONCLUSION

This paper has focused on the circulatory movement of Puerto Rican families, noting events which influence their adaptation and cultural identity upon their return to Puerto Rico.

The dissatisfaction and problems expressed by the interviewees should be seen within the framework of their socioeconomic status. They represent a segment of Puerto Rican migrants of the 1980s, characterized by Fitzpatrick[8] as: "the segment that struggles along as part of the working class of New York City" (where 43 percent of Puerto Ricans lived), of which "a large percentage have slipped more deeply into poverty, overwhelmed by a series of problems from which there seems to be no solution in sight."

Another segment of Puerto Rican migrants is characterized by the same author as the one that "has prospered impressively." This is the one that "sees assimilation as a promise"; its major indicators are "language, intermarriage and fertility patterns."

While I am not so optimistic about Puerto Rican assimilation in the United States, I acknowledge the adaptation of a Puerto Rican segment who are steadily working, who have some degree of biculturalism, and who are contributing to the United States cultural development from various fields. This segment of the migrant population is the product of the national trend in the '60s and

[8] Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans* (2nd ed.; Prentice Hall, 1987), pp. xii-xiii.

'70s toward the recognition of ethnic diversity, a trend that led to the creation of Puerto Rican studies departments and bilingual programs throughout the United States.

Characterized initially as representatives of activist and countercultural movements as well as of second-generation Puerto Ricans (those born in the United States of Puerto Rican parentage), they are not becoming marginal to either culture; instead, they are creating new elements of expression while keeping their values within the traditional culture and are also stressing cultural pluralism and ethnic identity as a reaction to racism and dominance. *Nilda* by Nicholasa A. Mohr and *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas are early examples of the above.[9] The other element is "Spanglish," a blend of the Spanish and English languages; courses are taught and congresses are dedicated to this subject today, but in the '70s "Spanglish" was denounced as an ignorant use of the Spanish language.[10] The same tendencies are seen in the other fields of fine arts and in all cultural manifestations. This is what Octavio Paz has termed the "paradox" of Hispanic groups in the United States: integration and differentiation.[11]

What is the Puerto Rican contribution, as part of an Ibero-American heritage, that can be incorporated into a curriculum project? What are the proper ways to address the issues or concerns of what is believed to be important to education? I propose that migratory events and processes be highlighted. The process by which Puerto Rican peasants lose contact with their means of production (land) through the expansion of agrarian capitalism seems rather pedagogical. The voyage to the United States and the cultural shock confronted by these peasants seem rather pedagogical. Their cultural values and their racial diversity, in contrast to the dominants' values and ethnocentrism, seem important and should be understood. Their labor contribution—be it in the agricultural fields, the factories, or the service agencies—and their struggle and identity reaffirmation represent another important process to be understood. It is also very important to understand the so-called "neorican" generation and their artistic and cultural expressions.

Finally, books like *Memorias de Bernardo Vega* by César Andrew Iglesias (Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán, 1977); *The Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches* by Jesús Colón (New York: Arno Press, 1975); *Carlos Tapia, A Puerto Rican Hero in New York* by Ramón Colón (New York: Vantage Press, 1976), among others, are excellent portraits of the early migration. *From Colonia to Community* by Virginia Sánchez Korroll (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983); *Labor Migration under Capitalism* by Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), among others, are excellent interpretative and theoretical works.

Studies following the newest theoretical perspective are: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños. *Taller de Migración: Conferencia de Historiografía: abril de 1974*. (Bilingual edition) New York: Research Foundation of the City University of New York, 1975; Manuel Maldonado Denis. *Puerto Rico y Estados Unidos: Emigración v Colonialismo*. México: Siglo XXI Editores S.A., 1976, also in English: *The Emigration Dialectic: Puerto Rico and the U.S.A*. New York: International Publishers, 1980; History Task Force, Centro, *Labor Migration under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979; José L. Vásquez Calzada. "La Emigración Puertorriqueña: Solución o Problema?", also, "Demographic Aspects of Migration." *Labor Migration under Capitalism*. 223-36; Adalberto López and James Petras. *Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans: Studies in History and Society*. New York: Schenckman Publishing Co., 1974; Luis Nieves Falcón. *El Emigrante Puertorriqueño*. Río Piedras: Editorial Edil, 1976; Clara Rodríguez. "A Cost Benefit Analysis of Subjective Factors Affecting Assimilation: Puerto Ricans." *Ethnicity* 2(1975): 66-80. Also "Economic Factors Affecting Puerto Ricans in New York." *Labor Migration under Capitalism*. 197-221.; The first study to highlight the concept of circular migration is still relevant: José Hernández. *Return Migration to Puerto Rico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Studies concerned with the experience of Puerto Ricans in the United States and interpretative documents stressing the traditional view of Malthusianism and assimilation are: Lawrence Chenault. *The Puerto Rican Migration in New York City*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1938; C.W. Mills, Clarence Senior, and Rose Goldsen. *The Puerto Rican Journey*. New York: Harper, 1950; Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan. *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. and Harvard University Press, 1963; Joseph Fitzpatrick. *Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971; Clarence Senior. *Puerto Rican Migration*. Rio Piedras: Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, 1947; Clarence Senior and Donald O. Watkings. "Toward a Balance Sheet of Puerto Rican Migration." United States-Puerto Rican Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico, August 1966, *International Migration Review* II, no. 2 (1968).

[9] Sandra María Estévez, *Yerma Bucna* (1981), and Tato Laviera, *La Carreta Made a U-Turn* (1979), are more recent examples.

[10] See Frances R. Aparicio, "Tato Laviera y Alurista: Hacia una poética bilingue," in *Centro's Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 3 (Spring 1988).

[11] As quoted by Manuel-Pérez Liziano, art critic of *El Nuevo Día*, 6 de agosto de 1988, p. 54.

More recent books include Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Pess, 1983, in which the experiences of pioneer migrants in New York settlements are reassessed, together with survey articles such as the one by Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo and Ana María Díaz in *The Minority Report*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 2nd edition, 1982, and Clara Rodríguez, Virginia Sánchez Korrol, and Oscar Alers, eds. *The Puerto Rican Struggles: Essays in Survival*. Maplewood, NJ: Waterfront Press, 1984; María E. Sánchez and Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo, eds. *Toward a Renaissance of Puerto Rican Studies: Ethnic and Area Studies in University Education*. Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc.; Atlantic Studies on Society in Change No. 37, Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Colorado, 1987.

Interdependence Between the United States and Latin America

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JUSTIFICATION AND PROCEDURE

This essay presents a series of guidelines, intended as an aid to teachers, in two broad aspects included in the Curriculum Project on Ibero-American influences on United States culture. One aspect refers to the conditions in which interdependence processes take place in the Western Hemisphere. The other aspect, related to the first, consists of defining Latin American culture. The curriculum aims to teach students to respect and accept the multicultural composition of the United States. In this sense, a general understanding of the Latin American cultural reality is essential. The educator who needs to communicate an understanding of the culture of his, her students of Latin American ancestry or of the community's Latin residents, to students of diverse ethnic backgrounds, may want to determine those traits which explain Latin American behavior or their contributions to the North American cultural mosaic. Teachers will want to know what distinguishes Latin Americans who come to the United States, and what factors influence Latins' relationships with Anglo-Saxons and other ethnic groups residing in the United States of America.

Given the increasing interaction between Latin America and the United States and the constant migration between these regions,[1] this essay refers to the twentieth century, since interdependence is currently so relevant.

This paper summarizes and interprets a small sample of the enormous quantity of literature on this subject, and the works cited contain multiple references to available bibliographic sources. It was considered convenient to distinguish the views of Latin American and United States authors, so as to present a "Latin perspective" and a "North American perspective" on these issues. These perspectives, of course, cannot be taken as those of every inhabitant of each geographic area. Rather, they are intended as examples of the viewpoints held by those who study and write—in both areas—on the topics here discussed. The scholarly work of authors of other nationalities has been excluded, in order to present more clearly Latins' and North Americans' opinions on their mutual relationships and the interaction between their cultures. In this fashion, this paper approaches a model of a frank dialogue between these interdependent parties.

THE LATIN AMERICA PERSPECTIVE

Latin America's View of Itself

Latin America is one, but diverse. Its unity is defined by a series of predominant traits: geographic continuity south of the United States border with Mexico and the Caribbean; a common history: Indian and colonial pasts, emancipation from European powers, struggles to consolidate the Republics; languages derived from Latin or strongly influenced by it: Spanish, Portuguese, French; economies that are products of the colonial system and subsequent underdevelopment. Roman Catholic religion or its strong influence is an essential characteristic of the sociocultural system. Its own process of Indigenous, European, and African mestization has incorporated, and continues to do so, all racial varieties. And even though racism takes on diverse manifestations vis-à-vis the United States Anglo-Saxon tradition, Latin America considers itself nonracist. Social classes, defined as differences in socioeconomic levels, are more relevant in the classification of social groups in Latin America than are ethnic differences. Latin Americans accept national or

[1] Latin American migration to the United States is very high. This is primarily due to population growth and to limited employment and educational opportunities in Latin America, as well as to the other opportunities offered by the United States. By the year 2000, the total population of the 20 Latin American countries is projected to be 527.3 million (CELADE, *Boletín Demográfico* 42, july 1988). The Economically Active Population will increase by 65 million from 1985 to 2000 (*Boletín Demográfico* 35). If French Guiana, Guyana, Surinam, Belice and the Eastern Antilles are included, the total population is expected to reach 540.1 million by the year 2000. On the other hand, Latin America receives primarily tourists and business people from the United States.

regional Emancipation heroes as continental patriots.[2] Poets and writers, and their works, are shared patrimony. Not only does their literary production spread immediately from one country to another, but world recognition accorded some of them is considered an honor bestowed to the whole area.[3] Fernando Ainsa (1986, p. 5) has pointed out the role of novels in the definition of Latin American cultural identity and argues that there is not a contradiction in the fact that this identity reflects both the unity and the diversity of the entire region. In the physical-natural sciences, Latin America has not been as productive as in letters, pictorial arts, sculpture, and architecture. Medicine, an applied expression of those sciences, has perhaps contributed the most in this area. Nevertheless, pursuing scientific endeavors has been highly valued. Scientists were traditionally and respectfully called *sabios* (wisemen). Sabios is now an archaic label, but these sciences continue to be highly valued, and they are amply stimulated at universities.

Luis Alberto Sánchez (1962) mentions shared traits in different aspects of daily life and varying levels of abstraction, from the *piropo* (knavish street compliment) and sumptuousness (display of luxury in ornaments or decoration), to manifestations of shared political attitudes: to grant political asylum, to show solidarity among Latin American countries when one of them is attacked, the doctrine of nonintervention, and the desire for democracy—always an explicit aspiration, even though its attainment is so frequently obstructed.

A few writers have totally denied the existence of a Latin American unity. For García Calderón (1910) this is due to the many differences among countries and regions; Velaochaga (1974) refers to the wide-ranging tendencies of dissimilar sectors: Cuba, guerrillas, churches, the armed forces, and so forth.

Carlos M. Rama (1970, pp. 240-242) stresses the cultural unity of Latin America in so far as it is a variant of Western civilization, an offspring of Modern European civilization, yet still autonomous. It is Latin on account of its Spanish and Portuguese origins and French influence. This latter influence is direct in Haiti and other Caribbean islands and indirect in all other countries, where it was very strong in the nineteenth century. The Latin character is also derived from Italy, which spread not only its culture but also a sizable migrant population, especially in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. However, Latin America redefines its European culture and develops its own styles. For instance, language does not divide peoples, as in Europe. Spanish is Brazil's second language; French is studied in schools and widely spoken; Italian is understood in varying degrees. Economically, the countries are homogeneously characterized as producers of raw materials and consumers of imported industrial manufactured goods, and, therefore, all are dependent. Emancipation from Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century and confrontations with Anglo-Saxon America (Mexican wars, Cuban war, the Big Stick Policy of the 1920s) are unifying traits. So are the frequently stated aspirations of attaining greater unity in the future. The ideas of "union in the spirit" (José Enrique Rodó), the greater fatherland" (Manuel Ugarte), an "awareness of anti-imperialist and populist unity" (Ernesto Che Guevara), "living as Latin Americans" (Bolivar, San Martín, Artigas) are old traditions in Latin America.

Most authors accept the existence of unifying factors that include geography, ethnicity, history, politics, economy, and aspirations for the future, while recognizing at the same time, the diversity in that unity.

José Matos Mar (1986, pp. 45-46) reaffirms the heterogeneous nature of Latin America as a whole, and of each nation. The area is homogeneous due to its long isolation, its mass colonization from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and because the countries are linked by dependency to the imperial powers. Long isolation (200 centuries) gives rise to the Indian stratum, which was varied, but with common features: hierarchical social structures; generalized exchange networks based on reciprocity and complementarity of goods and resources; the community, not the individual, as the basis of the social system. After the sixteenth century, Indian features specific to each region were modified. The extent of these changes varies according to the different characteristics of the ruling colonial power: Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, France. At this time, African influences were also introduced into the system.

As Matos Mar also reminds us (1986, p. 47), Latin America reproduced the Mediterranean pattern of separation between city and the countryside. The colonial city maintains close ties with the European colonial power. Surrounding rural areas are used for the extraction of products and tribute; they are exploited. The city administrates and consumes luxuries, but is little concerned with organizing production. Sumptuary consumption restricted crafts production and stimulated imports of goods from overseas for urban centers. These goods were paid for with revenues from the rural areas, for instance, from mining. This model patterned rural and urban life

[2] For instance, Simon Bolivar, José de San Martín, Benito Juarez, Miguel Hidalgo, José Mariá Morelos; more recently A.C. Sandino has been a unifying element. E. Che Guevara exerted wide fascination, even though his political views were not equally widespread.

[3] Garbriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda, Miguel Angel Asturias, Gabriel García Márquez, Jorge Luis Borges, Rubén Darío, etc.

until the twentieth century. It ceased to be feasible due to the population explosion, massive migrations, dependent industrialization, and penetration of North American and socialist ideologies. These four processes explain certain tendencies: In countries with a large Indian peasantry, this group invades the cities and national life, reaffirming the influence of the past (Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala). The situation is quite different in countries where farmers and peasants have less pre-Columbian influence (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica), and which therefore develop along lines more similar to Europe and the United States. Among the more developed countries, Mexico has been the most successful in integrating a strong Indian and Western heritage into a national culture. A third type of country is comprised by those with agricultural plantations using imported African slave labor (Brazil, Caribbean islands). Another difference can be found in the role each country plays in the twentieth century world market and the impact of capitalist industrialization on them. The more industrialized countries bear greater resemblance to Europe and the United States. Each country also develops its own nationalist ideology. This provokes border conflicts and other forms of competition among them. Brazil is an enormous space differentiated by its geography and the Portuguese origin of its language and a large part of its population. The predominance of certain products in national economies also stamps particular identities on these countries, for instance, coffee in Colombia or Costa Rica and oil in Venezuela.

Twentieth-century Latin America is very much aware of its lower classes and involved in the struggle for the economic and political rights of these popular sectors. According to Matos Mar (1986, p. 50), this is a product of Latin America's own ideologies—indigenism and populism—and to socialism, especially its marxist variety. Marxism has evolved local varieties in Latin America. Matos Mar also points out the new value given to the popular arts in the area.

The popular arts provide good examples of the heterogeneity in the homogeneity of Latin America culture. Music, for instance: No one would dispute how national a rhythm or melody might be (Argentine tango, Peruvian vals, Cuban rumba, Mexican corrido, etc.), but neither would anyone deny the distinctive Latin flavor of each piece which incites people from Baja California to Cape Horn to enjoy it in song or dance. Caribbean music certainly belongs to those islands, but it belongs equally to the "Latin" tradition, and, in Gérard Pierre-Charles' words (1986, p. 157), popular expressions can transcend and reach universality. He states that the wealth of ideas expressed by outstanding intellectuals becomes manifest, even more colorfully, in the peoples' daily lives.

Contributions by known or anonymous authors have been integrated into an amazingly varied and original cultural heritage, in music, dance, language, graphic arts, religious representations, the fantasy of carnivals, poetry, tales, and legends, all of which are woven into an infinite web of imagination and sensuality. This fountain of popular culture suddenly crystalizes in individual creators or artists—like Alejo Carpentier, Jacques Stéphen Alexis, Gabriel García Márquez, Benny More, or Bob Manley—or in collective phenomena such as the cha-cha-cha, calypso, steel band, reggàe, new Cuban trova or Haitian painting. All these reflect the multiple ways in which the Caribbean has contributed to the joy of the world.

Popular culture has come to be more highly valued due largely to modern influences: diffusion of the anthropological concept of culture, marxism, democratization processes, and the search for or reaffirmation of national and local identities as an answer to historical problems rooted in the colonial situation or underdevelopment. However, Latin America has also been characterized by the value it places on its intellectual culture, produced by the middle and upper classes. The contribution of the *pensadores* (thinkers) to this culture is especially important.

The pensadores are individuals with great literary talent (prose and poetry) and strong leadership in theoretical or practical politics. They belong to different professions. Traditionally these were law, history, teaching, the priesthood, and at times the arts or the physical-natural sciences. Currently the other disciplines offered by higher education have been added as well.[4]

It is convenient at this point to comment on the class stratification of Latin American society. The *signorial* structure has been reflected in the way the population has divided itself into two main parts: the "society" (high society or upper class) and the *pueblo* (the "people" or lower class). "Middle class" was not widely used as a label by those who were objectively "in the middle." The twentieth century gradually popularized this category, as it increased its ranks. Actual differentiation into various

[4] Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea (1971) presents a sample of the works of early twentieth century "thinkers": Manuel González Prada, Peruvian (1848-1918), *Our Indians*; José Martí, Cuban (1853-1895), *Our America*; José Enrique Rodó (1871-1971), *Ariel*; José Vasconcelos, Mexican (1881-1959), *The Cosmic Races*; Antonio Caso, Mexican (1883-1946), *The Social and Political Problem*; Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Dominican (1884-1946), *America's Utopia*; Alfonso Reyes, Mexican (1881-1959), *Notes on American Intelligence*; Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, Argentine (1895-1965), *Isolation*; José Carlos Mariátegui, Peruvian (1895-1930), *Regionalism and Centralism*; Eduardo Mallea, Argentine (1903-), *Knowledge and Expression of Argentina*; José Balseiro (1960) offers another sample.

economic levels is another source of diversity in Latin America values and behavior.

Darcy Ribeiro (1975) points out that class subcultures in Latin America have authentic—or genuine—traits, as well as inauthentic—spurious—ones. The alienated character of the elites, that is, their identification with the culture of colonial or developed nations, as well as the marginal traits of the pueblo are spurious. The latter are only efforts to survive adverse conditions; they are not expressions of growth or creativity. Spuriousness arises in the elites because of the upper classes' desire to imitate what they consider a superior culture, which they also aspire to represent, and because they are ashamed of belonging to a subordinate society (Ribeiro, 1975, pp. 122-125). Ribeiro reminds us that where class stratification exists, the culture is divided into an intellectual component—domain of the learned—and a vulgar component—folk or popular domain.

Yet, he considers that in colonial Latin American history the elites have not produced anything genuine, but that vulgar, folk, or popular culture has been marked by a higher degree of creativity: names and uses of plants and animals; techniques for hunting, fishing, and cultivation; crafts; forms of social organization; myths and legends; etc. In the fine arts—architecture, literature, painting, music, sculpture—he says that styles are essentially European (baroque, romanticism, realism, symbolism, impressionism, modernism), even though local characteristics can also be distinguished. Because the elites use foreign models for their inspiration, he blames them for deforming creativity, for instilling Latin Americans with a naive conscience incapable of understanding domination and thus perpetuating it, for its incapability to generate autonomous projects, and for not supporting social rebellion, since the upper classes consider the status quo as desirable instead of questionable. Ribeiro states that recently efforts against this alienation are beginning to succeed, that Latin Americans are learning that backwardness is neither natural nor necessary. Intellectuals had in the past learned from Europeans that the backwardness of their countries was due to climate, race, or Iberian traits that generated inferior or sick nations incapable of progress (Ribeiro, 1975, pp. 130-141).[5]

A later generation of intellectuals rejects these allegedly scientific explanations of the differences between Latin America and the United States or Europe. Nevertheless, they still maintain ideas to which Ribeiro objects, for instance, considering Latin America as "spiritual," while "the yankees" are "gross materialists".[6] He is also critical of another generation of writers who seek the redemption of Latin America in very ambiguous qualities ("Indians' cosmic vigor"; "telluric force of the new earth").[7]

Darcy Ribeiro's views are representative of recent Latin American social scientists. They analyze social realities using methods somewhat different from those the "thinkers" or intellectuals were using up to the middle of this century. Yet these scientists acknowledge new ways of thinking on the part of Latin American intellectuals; these new ways are considered freer from the effects of cultural domination exerted by Western powers. Some of the "thinkers" criticized by the social scientists are also pioneers of this new thought, some to a greater extent than others. Among the most influential are José Martí (Cuban), José Carlos Mariátegui (Peruvian) and Euclides de Cunha (Brazilian); their disciples "are just reaching maturity as designers of Latin America's new self-portrait" (Ribeiro, 1975, p. 129). The new intellectuals are credited with a critical awareness of the causes of underdevelopment. Generally their basic premise is that the "poor and backward nations are paying the bill for the rich advanced nations' prosperity" (Ribeiro, 1975, p. 129) and thus propose projects for sociocultural transformation. Ribeiro recommends the following critical bibliographies on the new intellectual movements: Crawford (1966), Stabb (1969), Henríquez Ureña (1960), Picón Salas (1950) and Sodré (1965).

Recent Caribbean intellectual production is summarized by Gérard Pierre-Charles (1986). He points out that Caribbean thought arises from the antagonism involved in these peoples' struggles against forms of oppression (colonial slavery, the whites' universe, capitalism) for survival and self-assertion. The new trends seek to define Caribbean identity: adaptation to an island or coastal habitat; mestization (how Indians, blacks, and whites have interrelated in sexual, racial, and cultural

[5] Ribeiro (1975, p. 144) mentions the following authors and works as representatives of these views: Manuel Ugarte (*Social Illnesses*, 1905, Buenos Aires); Alcides Aguedas (*Sick Peoples'*, 1909, Barcelona); Domingo F. Sarmiento (*Racial Conflicts and Harmony in America*, 1915, Buenos Aires); José Ingenieros (*Argentine Sociology*, 1913, Buenos Aires); C.O. Bunge (*Our America*, 1903, Barcelona); Paulo Prado (*Portrait of Brazil*, 1928, S. Paulo) and Oliveira Vianna (*Southern Peoples of Brazil*, 1952, 5 ed., Río de Janeiro).

[6] Representative of this manner of "consoling themselves when faced by North American attainments" are: José Enrique Rodó (*Ariel*, 1900, Montevideo); Francisco García Calderón (*The Creation of a Continent*, 1920, Caracas); Eduardo da S. Prado (*The American Illusion*, 1983, Sao Paulo).

[7] This group is represented by: Franz Tamayo (*The Creation of a National Pedagogy*, 1910, La Paz) José Vaconcelos (*The Cosmic Race*, n.d. Barcelona); José Uriel García (*Indian World*, 1937, Cuzco); Guillermo Francovich (Pachamama, 1942, Asunción); Fernando Diez de Medina (*Sariri: A Reply to Rodo's Ariel*), 1954, La Paz) and Juan Natalico González *How a Nation Is Built*, 1959, Asunción.

encounters); determining the influence of slavery and the plantation economy; determining the nature of the clash with Western civilization and North American power.

Latin American social scientists, such as Matos Mar, Ribeiro, and Pierre-Charles, represent a new explanation of social phenomena in Latin America, called dependency theory. This theory postulates that social phenomena are determined by their subordination to world capitalism. Because of this dependency, these countries develop in the context of imperialism, neocolonialism, or dependent capitalism. These authors perceive dependency as a relationship of inequality between central, dominant, capitalist countries and peripheral, dominated, capitalist countries. Within each country this relationship corresponds to the inequality between the exploiting dominant classes, and exploited, dominated classes (Chacón, et. al., 1975, p. 36). Development in the central industrialized countries, and underdevelopment in the dependent countries, is regarded as a single system and world historical process. At the same time, the internal structures of dependent societies develop their own physical, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical particularities. This in turn affects the role of each dependent society in the total capitalist system. The components of this global system maintain hierarchical relationships with the dominant center of the system: "It is not valid to speak of national or regional relations, for example, between the United States and Latin America. Rather it is a system made up of interdependent units; this interdependence implies the presence of superordinate-subordinate relationships" (Vasconi, 1975, pp. 48-49).

Leopoldo Zea (1944) points out that the problem of originality has long been a central concern in Latin American thought: from the early twentieth century the need for a new and authentic mental emancipation has been formulated, which cannot be limited to adoption of new forms of subordination. According to this philosopher, there has been an awareness of a supposedly inevitable inferiority, and Latin Americans have subjugated their culture to self-abatement. Yet they are becoming aware that this is a product of this same subordinating colonialism. Zea's remarks are possibly shared by a majority of Latin Americans. Yet, dissenting opinions are also found. Joyce Zurcher de Carrillo (1988), Costa Rican professor of philosophy, objects to the inclusion of an inferiority complex in the essence of Latin American identity, on the same level with language, underdevelopment, Hispanic heritage, mestization, or the free, creative spirit. She has asked whether Emiliano Zapata, Pancho Villa, José Martí, José de San Martín, Simón Bolivar, R. Calderón Guardia, José Figueres (these last two, Costa Rican ex-Presidents) suffered from inferiority complexes; have Costa Ricans not dared to do highly creative things as well?: abolish the army without consent from the developed "fathers"; create a national social security system, national parks, poetry, democratic (and undemocratic) labor unions; nationalize the banking system and the electricity services; create the Central American Common Market, the Peace Plan; a citizen dared win the Nobel Prize with original ideas. She adds that Costa Ricans and other Latin Americans are aware of conquest, colonialism, imperialism, international market exploitation, underdevelopment, and external debt; that Costa Ricans don't feel powerless, mistreated, hurt, or inferior. According to her, Costa Ricans are trying, creatively, to find the way out of underdevelopment, social injustice and poverty, and attain permanent peace for Central America.

Just as Zurcher de Carrillo lists authentic Costa Rican traits, a list which could easily be extended, such lists can be made for every Latin American country. Every human group innovates and also adapts what it borrows from others to its own needs. The process of adapting borrowed traits in turn involves innovation. There are cultural aspects that are more internationally shared, whose historical development was multicultural and continue to require information produced in different places. Academic disciplines are an example. Nevertheless, even these acquire some distinctiveness within each country or region. Philosophy provides an example: Positivism is a school which could have the same characteristics everywhere. However, Arturo Ardao (1963, p. 515) has written that "positivism was not only adopted but adapted to our historical-cultural characteristics. American Positivism not only differs from European Positivism, but it varies from one country to another."

Latin American scholars' concern for authentic, original works is legitimate, but perhaps they needn't worry so much, since it is impossible to keep borrowed elements identical to their source. A problem would exist if the adaptations of imported traits were shown to be solely an effect of Latin American subordination or dependency. If this were the case, their concern should be even greater.

Alejandro Losada (1979) has listed studies which show that dependency conditions the resulting culture: multinational corporations linked to mass communications alienate adolescents and popular urban sectors; educational projects which utilize space-age techology replace traditional education; the behavior of public sector leaders or of social scientists linked to multinational companies is affected. He has also listed studies which show the opposite to be true; that is, that a culture of resistance has appeared: anti-imperialist, revolutionary literature; peasant movements; liberating educational projects such as

those developed by Paulo Freire; and anti-colonialist social sciences. Finally, in his analysis of educated urban culture, produced by the intellectual middle class, he suggests that the dominant elites, the popular sectors, and this educated urban middle class, produce heterogeneous and contradictory cultural forms. Each of these three types of social actor responds to the other two, and to foreign domination. For example, literature produced by middle-class intellectuals is determined by each region's social formation and by the different modes of production coexisting in Latin America. A stable pattern of dependency, resistence, or revolutionary mobilization has not yet been configurated.

Urban culture is rapidly spreading in Latin America. Seventy percent of the area's population is urban. A positive view of urban life may be based on greater access to employment, heterogeneous cultural traditions, etc. Nevertheless, very negative views of urbanization in Latin America are also found, due to the spread of slums (attributed, like migration to the United States in search of employment, to capitalist economy) and to the harmful effects of modernization.[8]

The Latin American View of the United States

The United States is part of the definition of Latin America, at times because of their similarities, but much more often due to the contrasts found between the two areas. Luis Alberto Sánchez (1962) describes these similarities: geographic continuity; landscapes consisting of plains, deserts, mountain ranges, plants, and animals; Indians, mestizos, blacks, mulattoes, and Europeans; an Indian prehistory; as well as the differences: history separates the two Americas due to their divergent colonial and republican experiences.

Anglo-Saxon America is more frequently compared to Latin America on the basis of positive or negative criteria. Even though it is common to refer to "the colossus of the North" with fear, caution, or hostility, its merits are also referred to with admiration. The Independence leaders and the *criollos* who sought emancipation from Europe were inspired by the United States War of Independence and by its Constitution. The republican form of government became a common feature of the hemisphere. From the early nineteenth century there was an awareness that the North American system could not be imitated as a whole, but its political model, morality, and prosperity were highly praised. The capitalist model, industrialization, and the open society at the vanguard of humanist, scientific, and technical achievements are greatly esteemed by diverse sectors in Latin America. North American philosophers, writers, and poets have been widely read and lauded. Carlos M. Rama (1977, p. 90) points out how liberal writers have praised the United States for its separation of Church and State, religious tolerance, control of public services (schools, cemeteries, civil records register) by local governments, and freedom of thought. According to Rama (p. 100), admiration of the United States by the "liberal bourgeoisie" and "purchasing bourgeoisie" lead to annexation movements during critical historical phases in some countries, such as Cuba and Puerto Rico. Middle and upper classes linked to multinational companies also feel a strong attachment to the United States. During the Second World War and the years inmediately following, there was a widespread feeling of brotherhood and hemispheric unity.

Negative attitudes toward the United States are mainly due to its governmental and financial policies, but also to some social issues. Carlos M. Rama (1977), R.A. Iraeta (1974), and Luis Ibarra (1948) have dealt with these arguments; among them the following:

(1) The Monroe Doctrine and other Pan- or Inter-American policies are not applicable to Latin America's defense, but to North American interests.

(2) United States expansionist attempts have been denounced from the early nineteenth century (in Mexico, on account of the United States annexation of Florida and Louisiana) and continued after Mexico's territorial losses (1831-1848), United States sponsorship of the United States *filibusteros* in Central America and aggression in the Antilles (nineteenth century), and the direct occupation of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Panama (twentieth century).

(3) United States interventionism (twentieth century) in several countries aimed at thwarting revolutionary changes.

(4) Support of dictatorships.

(5) North American ownership of mines, railroads, textile mills, and especially multinational corporations.

(6) International trade favors the United States and greatly disfavors Latin America.

(7) Discrimination against Latin American workers in the United States; the Protestant nature of United States society.

[8] Carlos Monsivais (1984) represents this pessimism. He enumerates the worst results, among them: pollution, overpopulation, unemployment, lack of housing, space distributed according to social class, an individual survival morality, production and consumption determine all values, displacement of Spanish heritage, modification of mestizo; liberal culture; "machismo", superstition, envy, and fatalism are imposed, according to Monsivais, by the dominant elites; and refined culture (theater, good movies, concerts, libraries, etc.) is accessible to increasingly fewer people.

As a means towards solving conflicts with the United States, Latin Americans propose the need to strengthen their regional and subregional organizations of states. The united efforts of these nations in such organizations is expected to afford greater financial, economic, and political equality (Abellán, 1972; Ibarra, 1948; Iraeta, 1974). It is also essential that these countries find an adequate model of development (Stavenhagen, 1975).

THE UNITED STATES PERSPECTIVE

United States scholars have described Latin American culture in great detail, and from the standpoint of many disciplines. They have also dealt intensively with relations between the United States and Latin America. The great majority of published works on culture or on these relations are quite reliable and objective, although here and there a Latin American will find passages that he/she cannot wholly agree with, or would give a different emphasis.

North Americans have stressed cultural classifications. With this tendency they have managed to illustrate Latin America's complex cultural diversity. They have often used ethnic or racial criteria in their social or cultural taxonomies, while Latin Americans have tended to place stronger emphasis on social class factors. North Americans tend to look more closely at economic patterns, while Latin Americans tend to emphasize political aspects. The former tend to record behavior, while the latter tend to reflect ideas. These differences, however, are a matter of degree, not necessarily sharp contrasts.

A View on Latin American Culture

One of the best introductory books on Latin America cultures and societies is by Dr. Michael D. Olien (1973). It summarizes an enormous amount of data produced by North American and Latin American scholars from many disciplines, as well as documentary evidence; the references are an excellent guide. Olien identifies four divergent types of life styles, which share the same basic heritage but differ on account of historical and ecological factors. He also comments on the classifications proposed by well-known authors, all equally useful and valid.[9]

The four types of life styles identified by Olien (Olien, pp. 106-132) are:

(1) The Amerind-American sphere of interaction. People's primary identification is with a native group or community. Indian languages are used. Their way of life does not duplicate that of their aboriginal ancestors. Many of their customs are adaptations to colonial subjugation or to modern influences.

(2) The Mestizo-American sphere of interaction. Mestizo culture has been described by John Gillin (1949, pp. 170-173; 1955). Among the traits are: humanist orientation; concern with words; family organization (in Latin America the individual is respected for what makes him different from others; in North America for what makes him equal to all others); the "macho" type of masculine personality; militarism; the Napoleonic Code, etc.

(3) The Afro-American sphere of interaction. Multiracial societies, weak community cohesion, mother-oriented families, influence of African cultures, and so forth.[10]

(4) The Euro-American sphere of interaction. The major influx of non-Spanish Europeans took place in the nineteenth century. They were mostly Germans, Italians, English, Scottish, Irish, and Greeks, but other nationalities also arrived at that time, and all keep arriving today. They have greatly influenced agriculture, industry, and education.

Among the prominent Latin American cultural themes, Olien (Olien, pp. 192-227) selected for discussion:

(1) The grid settlement pattern of straight and rectangular blocks oriented around a central plaza; the important buildings surround this plaza; houses built flush with the sidewalk. Particular behaviors are also associated with this physical layout.

(2) Catholicism with its pantheon of Saints, religious brotherhoods, ritual kinship, the complex of fiestas, and relations with Protestantism.

(3) The variety of folk beliefs and practices regarding health and illness. Olien does not emphasize modern biomedical systems, but these have been described by North American medical anthropologists.

[9] Some of these scholars are R. Adams (1956, 1957); J. Augelli (1962); J. Gillin (1949, 1955); M. Harris (1964); D. Heath and R. Adams (1965); G. P. Murdock (1965); E. Service (1955); J. Steward (1946-1949, 1956); Ch. Wagley (1955, 1968); E. Wolf (1955).

[10] The impact of African influence is found in language, music, literature, religion, etc. According to Moreno Fraginals (1984), in all linguistic cases, but especially in the English and French Caribbean, this influence is not superficial. Rather it constitutes a fundamental alteration in vocabulary, syntax, intonation, and idiom, in poetry and prose, the influence of words, euphonies, myths, proverbs, rhythms, dances, and songs, of the black African's tense personality, inherited and transformed by the descendants of those who had been slaves, and is a creative force in present-day Latin America.

(4) The double standard of sexual morality.

(5) Interpersonal relations in the nuclear family, partnerships, youth groups, personalism, and social control.

Intellectual Latin American culture has been analyzed by specialists from every discipline. For instance, in philosophy, Crawford (1961, 1966) has dealt with the "thinkers":

> There is no surer way to reach the heart and soul of a culture, than to know the men whom it calls great and to determine whether they represent something distinctive in their culture.... The term *pensador* includes men who have tried to interpret the whole social reality that lay about them, seeking its roots in the past and looking with grave concern for their country and for America into an unknown future.

Another example of an enlightening philosophical approach is F.S.C. Northrop's insights on Mexican civilization (1948).

Relations Between Latin America and the United States

This aspect has concerned mainly historians, diplomats, and political scientists. David M. Pletcher has reviewed recent literature. He states (1977, pp. 41-42):

> The principal conceptual problem facing students of inter-American relations is that of the "one and the many." Since the early ninetheenth century the United States has claimed to have a "Latin American Policy" whether under the caption of Monroe Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, the Good Neighbor, or the Alliance for Progress, but it has maintained relations with individual Latin American nations, adjusting its general policy to each country....
>
> A second set of problems confronting the historian of United States-Latin American relations is that of maintaining a balanced view through long exposure to highly emotional, exaggerated rhetoric on each side....
>
> The historian has commonly encountered wildly contradictory charges and countercharges of inherent inferiority, greed, corruption, and hypocrisy: Much of the rhetoric arises from conflicting sets of values: material versus nonmaterial, Roman Catholic versus Protestant, English versus Spanish, common law versus Roman law.

Adolf Berle (1962, pp. 5-7) points to "an absence of a strong and harmonious working relationship among the Latin American countries—and between them and the United States," but this trend is rapidly changing. This is especially true since after the 1940's "the isolation of each country was broken by radio, telegraph, press coverage, air transport," and if one adds now satellites and computers, "each country now lives with the knowledge and in the presence of all other countries". The process of building a single unified region, observed in the '60s, has continued: "common markets, intellectuals avidly read each other's books, scientific research exchange, closer political ties..." Berle also argues that Latin American politicians think the United States "cannot" withdraw her interest from Latin America. This is not the fact, he says. It should not, but it "can," since Latin American products are not essential to the United States economy. He cities evidence that Latin America has progressed economically, but doubts about its continued progress arise because progress is encountering the disruptive forces unleashed by the industrial revolution, the cold war, and communist invasion. Most likely, a Latin American would respond to Berle that lack of progress is inherent to structural dependency, with its unfavorable terms of exchange. Berle foresaw change by means of revolution, not only of governments, but of social systems. This would make the United States problems in its relationship with Latin America more acute, and in facing this situation, the United States must in the first place think of its own security interests (Berle, 1962, p. 23).

In one of the most exhaustive analyses of Latin American-United States relations, Federico Gil (1975, p. 257) concludes that United States policy has always aimed at avoiding the influence of overseas world powers in this hemisphere, as well as making Latin America a special sphere of United States influence. This latter objective has been accomplished by different means, such as trade, investment, diplomacy, and military activities. This would not contradict Latin America's assertion that the United States is not really interested in its neighbors, but seeks hemispheric solidarity to further its own ends. Gil (p. 258), like Berle, relates Latin America revolutionary style to the desire to change unjust social structures.

H. Matthews and K.H. Silvert (1967, p. 27) also state that the main premise underlying the Monroe Doctrine, imperialism, and all United States policy towards Latin America, is the United States continental security. These authors, and many others, have dealt with the list of Latin American complaints against the United States, pointing out the reasons and the errors on both sides.

FINAL REMARKS

The nature of the interdependence between the United States and Latin America is largely determined by population growth, widespread poverty, internal reforms or revolution, constant in-and out-migration, the present style of United States development, and Latin America's current search for appropriate models of development.

A guide to available knowledge for understanding Latin Americans and their culture is offered, also for understanding relationships which take place in the context of financial and political inequality and which both sides try to balance.

Success in this task varies according to the means employed. It is an undoubted fact that, in the future, the educational system must seek understanding and respect for the varied cultural forms, but acknowledge as well that these forms must change when they are the product of subordinate situations or social injustice.

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